

THE STRATEGY OF CHRISTIAN MISSION TO MUSLIMS:  
ANGLICAN AND REFORMED CONTRIBUTIONS IN INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST  
FROM HENRY MARTYN TO SAMUEL ZWEMER, 1800-1938

by  
Lyle Lloyd Vander Werff

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TO  
PHYLLIS AND MY PARENTS



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## INTRODUCTION

"What constitutes an adequate Christian approach to non-Christian religious and secular man?" This contemporary question elicits lively discussion among Christians in many lands. The urgency of the question appears to be intensified by rapid world change. Technological advance, revolutionary social and political ferment, and the growing inter-dependence of nations means that the religions of man are to be in unavoidable contact. This situation of proximity and plurality could be described as the new era of inter-religion.

Christian-Muslim relationships and attitudes are no small part of this world scene. The Islamic community of about 450 million and the Christian community of nearly one billion, roughly half of the world's population, will have increasing contact. What shall be the end result of it? Their past record of trial and error, tension and enlightenment, hope and fear is all too descriptive of our universe and its humanity. Yet man desires something more than fragmentation and continual chaotic conflict. He longs for the experience of "community", a realization of the true family of man. He realizes that he does not fulfill the true destiny for which he was created simply by co-existing in time and space with other inhabitants of this planet. Conflicting or even parallel existence will not suffice. In his deep interior, man is aware that his problem is theological. The solution of "wholeness" (peace, shalom, salaam) is to be found in his Creator.

The Christian's relationship with his fellow-man has been revolutionized by God's Revelation and Action in Jesus Christ. While "mission" is older than Christianity inasmuch as the redemption of the universe is rooted in the eternal will and historical activity of the Creator (Eph. 1, 3:1-12), it was only with the coming of Christ that the offer of salvation to all nations and the sending forth

of messengers became fully manifest (Matt. 28:18-20; Mk. 16:15; Luke 24:46-48; Jn. 20:21; Acts 1:8, 9:15, 26:16-18, etc.). Thus from its inception, the Christian Faith has been a call to mission; God requiring the disciple to share in the work Christ initiated. Christ's mission becomes the Christian's commission. Yet under the Spirit's direction, each age of disciples must think out and work out the implications of these injunctions anew. These are a few of the presuppositions behind the energetic discussion in contemporary Christian circles.

The twentieth century has especially become the scene of debate as to the interpretation and implementation of "mission". World War I and its aftermath concluded a great "century of missions" from West to East and ushered in the spirit of re-evaluation. This debate regarding the theory and practice of "mission" reached a climax at Tambaram (Madras) in 1938. It has continued, however, and with each new conference the participants increase, numerically and vocally. The question as to what is the correct strategy or approach, in this case towards Muslims, goes on.

In the post-Tambaram conversations, many stressed the uniqueness of God's Revelation in Christ, i.e. the Christian Message. Some felt this implies a contrast, a "discontinuity", with all other religions of man, perhaps even Christianity. Most agree however that this unique Message from God can be presented in a hopeful, sympathetic way to all men. This point of view finds various expressions and emphases, but agrees as to the biblical fundamentals concerning the "proclamation" of a Christocentric Message and the requirements of discipleship, i.e. conversion and the new life in the Christian community.<sup>1</sup> A few see the Christian Faith in some measure as the corrective or "fulfillment" of non-Christian religions in their

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<sup>1</sup>Hendrik Kraemer has become known as the leading exponent of this view, cf. esp. The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (London, 1938). Similar views have been held by Emmanuel Kellerhals, Der Islam. Seine Geschichte, Seine Lehre, Sein Wesen (Basel, 1945); J. Witte, Die Christusbotschaft und die Religionen, (Göttingen, 1936); Harold Linsell, "Fundamentals for a Philosophy of the Christian Mission," in The Theology of the Christian Mission edited by G. H. Anderson (London, 1961) and J. N. D. Anderson, (ed.) The World's Religions (London, 1950).



efforts to express and meet the religious needs of man.<sup>1</sup> Some contend that Christianity must become the partner of the great, especially monotheistic religions over against naturalistic monistic religions and secularization. Many of these while rejecting or re-interpreting the idea of "syncretistic religion" do hold to a policy of co-operation, complementary religion, or reconception. Often this view implies that behind all religions there is "one religion" or that one religion will emerge from the inter-religion scene.<sup>2</sup> Others, while retaining their claim to being Christian, would completely disassociate themselves from "mission" except in the sense of pure service. They try to work out the question of relationships in cultural, sociological, or philosophical (not theological) terms.<sup>3</sup> Others while agreeing that the Christian approach must be sympathetic, reject any compromise of the uniqueness and theological essence of the Christian Faith. They hold fast to the content of the Christian Message, but feel that proclamation of a transcendental message and a stress on discontinuity is inadequate. They stress instead witness via "Christian presence" and dialogue which reaches for the latent, partial truths of Christ (the Logos) in the heart of the listener.<sup>4</sup> Some see Christianity in an

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<sup>1</sup>The concept of "fulfilment" was best expressed by J. N. Farquhar in The Crown of Hinduism (Oxford, 1913) and accepted to a lesser extent by such persons as Oldham, and E. S. Jones. It still receives recognition by E. C. Dewick, The Christian Attitude to Other Religions (Cambridge, 1953) although it received sharp criticism from A. G. Hogg.

<sup>2</sup>For several wide-ranging points of view cf. W. E. Hocking, Living Religions and a World Faith (London, 1940); E. L. Allen, Christianity Among the Religions (London, 1960); P. Tillich, Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions (London, 1963); G. Parrinder, Comparative Religion (London, 1962); W. M. Watt, Truth in the Religions (Edinburgh, 1963) and articles by Edward Jurji and W. G. Oxtoby in Theology Today, October 1966.

<sup>3</sup>W. C. Smith, The Meaning and End of Religion (New York, 1962-3); A. Toynbee, An Historian's Approach to Religion (London, 1956) and Christianity Among the Religions of the World (London, 1958).

<sup>4</sup>E. C. Dewick, The Indwelling God (London, 1938) and The Gospel and Other Faiths (London, 1948); A. K. Cragg, The Call of the Minaret (New York, 1956), Sandals at the Mosque (New York, 1959), etc.; and Leroy S. Rouner, "Rethinking the Christian Mission in India Today," Religion in Life (October, 1966).



age of revolution, a world that is undergoing secularization. This process, they note, is sweeping the world clear of religion, perhaps even Christianity in its present form. Yet this is not to be feared, for it will permit the Kingly rule of Christ to be realized in fuller measure. Some would go so far as to say that the Christian Faith and secularization stand over against all religions and pseudo-religions, i.e. secularism, humanism, etc.<sup>1</sup> Others set forth critical but cautious views in challenging fashion. They emphasize the biblical basis of mission, the motive and spirit of love, and the ambassador-servant role of the Church. Perhaps the healthiest approaches to Muslims that have recently evolved are those which have made critical use of the Gairdner-Cragg and Zwemer-Kraemer trends. Such views have emerged at Asmara (1959), New Delhi (1961) and since. There is usually emphasis on the nature of "witness", the value of personal friendship in communication, the necessity of discipleship and church-building, and the missionary (as well as ecumenical and eschatological) nature of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

It is the author's view that any attempt to understand or participate in, much less evaluate, this present on-going debate regarding "mission" demands certain prerequisites. First, the biblical-theological basis for Christian mission as given in God's revelation in Christ (recorded in the Bible) and received within

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<sup>1</sup>Arend Th. van Leeuwen, Christianity in World History (London, 1964); Paul Van Buren, The Secular Meaning of the Gospel (London, 1963); and The Christian Response to Asian Revolution by M. M. Thomas (London, 1966). One can also examine the works of Friedrich Gogarten, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Harvey Cox.

<sup>2</sup>W. A. Bijlefeld, "Recent Theological Evaluation of the Christian-Muslim Encounter," Part II, I.R.M., 55 (1966), 430-441 and Part I in this periodical by Ian H. Douglas, pp. 418-429; Daud Rahbar, "Christian Apologetic to Muslims," I.R.M., 54 (1965), 353-359; R. Marston Speight, "Some Bases for a Christian Apologetic to Islam," I.R.M., 54 (1965), 193-205; R. Park Johnson, The Middle East Pilgrimage (New York, 1958) and "Renewal of the Christian Mission to Islam: Reflections on the Asmara Conference," I.R.M., 48 (1959), 438-444; J. Christy Wilson, The Christian Message to Islam (New York, 1950); Johannes Blauw, "The Witness of Christians to Men of Other Faiths," I.R.M., 52 (1963), 414-422, Gottes Werk in dieser Welt. Grundzüge einer biblischen Theologie der Mission (München, 1961) and The Missionary Nature of the Church: a Survey of the Biblical Theology of Mission (2nd edition, London, 1962); Donald A. McGavran, The Bridges of God: A Study in the Strategy of Missions (London, 1957) and How Churches Grow: The New Frontiers of Mission (London 1959).

the community of Faith (the Church) must be examined.<sup>1</sup> Second, one must grasp something of the philosophical-theological development in the Western world and Church from the Reformation to present. Certain aspects of this development had repercussions in both mission theory and practice.<sup>2</sup> Third, one must become acquainted with the actual history of Christian missions. The expansion of Christianity (i.e. the encounter with many cultures and religions, the birth of younger churches and the renewal of ancient ones) has brought a fuller realization of the nature of the Church-Kingdom of Christ and its role in world history.<sup>3</sup>

This dissertation will examine the historical development of various Anglican and Reformed missions to Muslims as an answer to the vital question: What constitutes a Christian approach or approaches to Muslims? It is written in the conviction that history contains lessons that man can learn in the light of Christ. As McGavran says:

"The Church can develop right strategy in mission. All she has to do is to observe what has taken place in the hundreds of matchless laboratories which a hundred and sixty years of modern missions have provided. By amassing knowledge, by pooling the common experience of missions and churches, by assembling the evidences of instances where the Church was planted, where it grew, where it stopped growing, and where it never even started, she can discern which processes in which specific circumstances receive God's blessing and which do not. Right strategy will spend large sums of money and the lives of some of its best men and women in intensive research into the most effective ways and means of reconciling men to God and of multiplying churches."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ferdinand Hahn, Mission in the New Testament (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 47, London, 1965) is but one example of many recent comprehensive studies.

<sup>2</sup>H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, Schleiermacher to Barth (London, 1964); Karl Barth, Rousseau to Ritschl (London, 1959); Alex. R. Vidler, 20th Century Defenders of the Faith (London, 1965); and Gustaf Wingren, Theology in Conflict (Edinburgh, 1958) are excellent introductions to this field.

<sup>3</sup>The monumental work, A History of the Expansion of Christianity by K. S. Latourette, (7 vols., London, 1940) and many other monographs on particular countries will help provide the historical framework without which any discussion of the theory and practice of mission easily drifts into abstraction.

<sup>4</sup>Donald McGavran, "Wrong Strategy: The Real Crisis in Missions," I.R.M., 54 (1965), 461.

The inquiry into the actual developments "in-the-field" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has but begun. The history of the "Church in Mission" demands serious consideration.

In a missiological study, one finds two levels requiring attention. First, there is the actual activity of a person or group as they labor on the field to communicate their message, build the church and achieve other objectives in the given situation. Their interpretation of their situation and their message greatly affects their course of action. Second, there is the reflection of a person or group upon their activity, the formulation of what may be called, an approach. In such they describe their motives, methods, means, and objectives. They may also struggle with such crucial issues as the meaning of "mission", the content of their "message", their relation to non-Christian religions, their relation to the culture of the land, the eschatological understanding of the Church-Kingdom, etc. Some scholars attempt to keep these two levels of "activity" and "approach" separate, but this seems neither possible nor desirable.<sup>1</sup> This is especially true when examining the nineteenth century where one finds the best source materials for Christian "approaches" interwoven into the very life, work and writings (or "activity") of men serving in the field. Often the life and work of individuals or groups discloses a distinct "approach" which may or may not agree with their written statements.

The quantity of primary materials for Anglican and Reformed contributions to the Christian mission to Muslims in India and the Near East from Henry Martyn to Samuel Zwemer, 1800-1938, is almost overwhelming. There are surveys, appeals, and reports of individual missionaries and mission societies; studies of these lands, peoples, their history and religion; tracts, booklets, and literature used in evangelism on the mission field; autobiographical accounts and frequently articles and monographs by missionaries themselves. Of more secondary nature, yet

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<sup>1</sup> Carl F. Hallencreutz, Kraemer Towards Tambaram: A Study in Hendrik Kraemer's Missionary Approach (Uppsala, 1966), p. 12.



valuable are the official histories and numerous biographies. Wherever possible, the author will show preference for primary monographs, correspondence, and other writings of personnel engaged in the actual work. The reports of the various missionary conferences also contain a wealth of material.

Of necessity, a study such as this must contain certain self-imposed restrictions. First, this study has been confined to the time-span from the advent of modern Protestant missions to the crisis at Tambaram, 1800-1938. While this may appear unwieldy in itself, it is a unit revealing important development in both theory and practice. For those who would fully realize the strides achieved, the preceding twelve centuries of Muslim-Christian relationships and attitudes must be examined. Second, this research has been limited geographically to endeavours in northern India (present-day Pakistan and North India) and the Near East (sometimes called the Middle East or Western Asia, but defined in this case as running from Egypt to Iran, from Turkey to the Arabian Peninsula). This is not to minimize the vital mission work carried on in Indonesia and the Far East, or Africa, or in southern Europe. Thirdly, this study concentrates on the work of the Churches of the Reformation. Roman Catholic ventures preceded, paralleled and sometimes surpassed Protestant efforts. More limited, and not yet given their due credit, are the Russian Orthodox missions. In the process of this research, it was discovered that the bulk of mission work for Muslims in the above lands was initiated by various Anglican and Reformed (includes Presbyterian and Congregational) groups. By confining this study to them, it is not to be forgotten that many other dedicated individuals and bands sacrificially labored and labor still in the Name of Christ. Fourthly, wherever possible representative figures of Anglican and Reformed efforts have been selected as "focal points". Where available, monographs of these representatives have been examined in addition to their life and work. In those areas or situations where the work lacked distinct leaders or the emphasis was placed upon a team-effort, the broader activity and approach of the group have been

treated. Other details have been extracted from the thousands of pages of surveys, reports and histories read to describe the missionary milieu and to provide a sense of continuity.

The arrangement of this dissertation is quite obvious by a perusal of the table of contents. In chapter one, a brief examination is made of the development of the concept of "mission" and the growth of various attitudes towards Islam in Protestant circles from the Reformation to 1800. Chapter two, a study in methods, presents the development of the rather direct approaches made to Muslims by Anglican and Reformed workers in northern India from 1800 to 1910 and the emergence of Churches conscious of their unity and mission to Islam. Chapter three describes the activities and approaches of Reformed and Anglican workers in the Near East from 1800 to 1910. In the Near East one discovers the situation was complicated by ecclesiastical relations, governmental restrictions, social pressures, and communal tensions. Ecclesiastical and environmental factors have become the focal points for this study of "encounter". In order to grasp what was intended and what actually happened, the student of history must devote more attention to the organizational development and activity of the Mission Societies and Churches and thus less to individuals. The concluding chapter discloses the emergence of maturing ecumenical Anglican and Reformed approaches to Muslims in the persons, works and writings of W. H. T. Gairdner and Samuel M. Zwemer. These two outstanding figures give honorable representation to developments in their traditions over the preceding century. It is the author's belief that they deserve fuller attention than they have been given inasmuch as they serve as "hinges" between the best of their traditions in two centuries. They give expression to the culmination of nineteenth century efforts to reach Muslims for Christ and introduce the twentieth century's concern for sympathetic communication of the Gospel to the people of Islam.

It is hoped that this study may contribute in some measure to an

understanding and appreciation of the great achievement in thought and action from 1800 to 1938; to a grasp of the significance of the debate regarding theology and mission since World War I; and to the strengthening of the Church in her present resolve and effort of mission to Muslims in the Name of Jesus Christ.

## THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The prospects for a successful Christian mission to Muslims were far from promising at the start of the sixteenth century. The Roman Catholic Church itself was suffering from internal decay and stagnation. Forces within and without its borders threatened its fragmentation. Numerous ills resulted from its close identification with "Empire". Still it is reasonable to believe that lack of vitality was not the most serious obstacle to the evangelization of those peoples under the banner of Islam. The real barriers were deeply embedded in the past, in issues persisting still. These were to become the inheritance of Protestantism.

First, there was the legacy of Christian-Muslim frictions and resultant attitudes. Even the rise of Islam had stemmed from past difficulties. The political struggles of Rome and Persia, the controversies of the ancient Churches and the failure to convey the Christian Faith to the Arabs had left a situation ripe for an alternative religion.<sup>1</sup> Mahammad's milieu (A.D. 570-632), his contacts with dynamic and distorted Christianity and his trying dealings with the Jews not only shaped his understanding of the Christian Faith, but future relationships with

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<sup>1</sup> Even as Mahammad has been called the East's answer to Alexander the Great, so Islam was Arabia's answer to the Church's neglect. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (trans. J. Carmichael and M. F. Sturge, New York, 1960); Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937); Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs in History* (London, 1950); and G. Kirk, *A Short History of the Middle East, from the Rise of Islam to Modern Times* (London, 1943).

Chapter I. THE FORMATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF A PROTESTANT CONCEPT OF MISSION,  
1500-1800: PRELIMINARY TO A PROGRAM OF MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The prospects for a successful Christian mission to Muslims were far from promising at the start of the sixteenth century. The Roman Catholic Church itself was suffering from internal decay and stagnation. Forces within and without its borders threatened its fragmentation. Numerous ills resulted from its close identification with "Empire". Still it is reasonable to believe that lack of vitality was not the most serious obstacle to the evangelization of those peoples under the banner of Islam. The real barriers were deeply embedded in the past, in issues persisting still. These were to become the inheritance of Protestantism.

First, there was the legacy of Christian-Muslim frictions and resultant attitudes. Even the rise of Islam had stemmed from past difficulties. The political struggles of Rome and Persia, the controversies of the ancient Churches and the failure to convey the Christian Faith to the Arabs had left a situation ripe for an alternative religion.<sup>1</sup> Muhammad's milieu (A.D. 570-632), his contacts with dynamic and distorted Christianity and his trying dealings with the Jews not only shaped his understanding of the Christian Faith, but future relationships with

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<sup>1</sup> Even as Muhammad has been called the East's answer to Alexander the Great, so Islam was Arabia's answer to the Church's neglect. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples (trans. J. Carmichael and M. Perlmann, New York, 1960); Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (London, 1937); Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (London, 1950); and G. Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, from the Rise of Islam to Modern Times (London, 1948).



Christians.<sup>1</sup> Military clash soon had generated hatred. The amazing success of the Arab conquests under the Four Caliphs (Rāshidūn, A.D. 632-661) brought many Muslims and Christians face-to-face in unequal relationship.<sup>2</sup> Under the Umayyad Dynasty (A.D. 661-750), Christian teachers, translators and office bearers (e.g. John of Damascus) made direct contributions to Muslim life and began to shape apologies patterned after earlier controversies with Judaism.<sup>3</sup> While the process of exchange and assimilation (esp. philosophy and theology) continued under the Abbasids and Saljuqs (A.D. 750-1258), Christian and Muslim communal life and opinion further polarized.<sup>4</sup> As the dhimmis (subject peoples) felt increased pressures to convert, Christian-Muslim apologetics/polemics intensified. Although favorable encounters did occur in such provinces as Spain and Sicily, relationships under the Saljuqs (A.D. 1055-1258) broke down. In the medieval period, life retreated into feudal isolation. Then the rise of the Italian city-states, the Crusades and the Latin States signaled new stirrings in Europe. While the Crusades

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. W. M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca (Oxford, 1953), Muhammad at Medina (Oxford, 1956), Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman (London, 1961), Islam and the Integration of Society (London, 1961), "Economic and social aspects of the Origin of Islam," I.Q., 1 (1954), 90-103, and "Ideal Factors in the Origin of Islam," I.Q., 2 (1955), 160-174. Also cf. Alfred Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad (Oxford, 1954); Arthur Jeffery, Islam: Muhammad and His Religion (New York, 1958); Tor Andrae, Mohammed: The Man and His Faith (trans. by Theophil Menzel, London, 1936); H. A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism: an Historical Survey (London, 1953); and D. S. Margoliouth, The Early Development of Mohammedanism (London, 1914).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. L. S. Browne, Eclipse of Christianity in Asia (Cambridge, 1933); W. Wilson Cash, Christendom and Islam: Their Contacts and Cultures Down the Centuries (London, 1937); and T. W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith (Westminster, 1896).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. R. Bell, The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment (London, 1926); J. Windrow Sweetman, Islam and Christian Theology (2 vols., London, 1945-47); Loofty Levonian, Studies in the Relationship of Islam and Christianity (London, 1940); and John Bowman, "The Debt of Islam to Monophysite Syrian Christianity," Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift (Wageningen), Feb. 1965, 177-201.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. M. Watt, Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Edinburgh, 1963), The Faith and Practice of Al-Ghazali (London, 1953), and Muslim Intellectual: A Study of Al-Ghazali (Edinburgh, 1963).



did produce certain benefits (e.g. commercial, cultural, religious intercourse), they also manufactured the acids of bitterness long remembered.<sup>1</sup> They almost obscured the brighter opportunities, then tragedy, that surrounded the entrance of the Mongols into Near Eastern life.<sup>2</sup> Certainly they nurtured the rancor and polemics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> These were active ingredients still shaping both Christian and Muslim attitudes in the sixteenth century.

Second, there was continuing conflict with only limited contacts for conversation. The Turkish forces continued to press northwards through the Balkans deep into Hungary, at times threatening all of Europe. One of the few benefits accruing from this struggle was the returning prisoners of war who brought with them a new awareness of Islam. During Ottoman advances, many captive Christians were carried deep into Muslim territory. The eye-witness accounts of those who did return would serve to remove many illusions about Islam and the East.<sup>4</sup> For

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. A. S. Tritton, The Caliphs and Their Non-Moslem Subjects (Oxford, 1930); F. W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans (2 vols., Oxford, 1929); G. E. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam (Chicago, 1946); Christopher Dawson, The Making of Modern Europe (London, 1932) and Medieval Essays (London, 1953), W. M. Watt and P. Cachia, Islamic Spain (Edinburgh, 1965); T. W. Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, The Legacy of Islam (Oxford, 1931); Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (3 vols., Cambridge, 1951-55); W. B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East (Cambridge, 1907); W. M. Baldwin and K. M. Setton (editors), A History of the Crusades (Philadelphia, 1955); A. S. Atiya, The Crusade in the Late Middle Ages (London, 1938); R. Grousset, Histoire des croisades et du régime franque à Jerusalem (3 vols., Paris, 1934-36); and William Miller, The Latins in the Levant (London, 1908).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Wilhelm Barthold, Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion (London, 1958) and Four Studies on the History of Central Asia (Leiden, 1956-58); H. H. Howorth, History of the Mongols (London, 1876-1927); R. Grousset, L'Empire des steppes (Paris, 1938) and L'Empire mongol (Paris, 1941); and Christopher Dawson, The Mongol Mission (London, 1955).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Norman Daniel, Islam and the West; Making of An Image (Edinburgh, 1960) and Harry G. Dorman, Toward Understanding Islam. Contemporary Apologetic of Islam and Missionary Policy (New York, 1948).

<sup>4</sup>Erwin Graf, "Religiose und rechtliche Vorstellungen über Kriegsefange in Islam und Christentum," W.I., 8 (1963), 89-139.

example, Johannes Schiltberger, who was captured at the Battle of Nicopolis (1396) wrote of his experience in Bondage and Travels upon release (1427).<sup>1</sup> Another, Fr. George of Hungary (ca. 1422-1502), recorded his years in Ottoman domains (1436-1458) in Tractus de Moribus Condicionibus et Nequicia Turcorum. This document which saw many editions (Latin edition of 1530-31 had a preface by Luther) was marked by a lack of polemics. Its simple narration must have provided fascinating reading for an information-hungry Europe.<sup>2</sup> Europe may have borrowed and benefited from her Mediterrean, especially Spanish, contacts with Muslims also.<sup>3</sup>

Yet thirdly, it must be admitted that Europe's knowledge of Islam was rather restricted. Attitude rather than lack of opportunity produced this situation. Much literature was created simply for polemic or propaganda purposes. Fragments of fact and ornate fiction were blended to defeat the opponents and to defend Europe's "superiority". Many prejudicial distortions of Islam continued to flourish in medieval Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Fourthly, the sixteenth century was heir to the attempts and failure of Roman Catholic missions to Muslims. The twelfth century of learning had witnessed the efforts of the monks of Cluny under Peter the Venerable to gain knowledge of

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<sup>1</sup>J. Schiltberger, The Bondage and Travels, 1396-1427 (ed. by K. F. Neumann, etc. London, 1879) or Reise in den Orient (ed. by A. J. Penzel, Munich, 1813).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. J. A. B. Palmer, "Fr. Georgius de Hungaria, O.P., and the Tractatus de Moribus Condicionibus et Nequicia Turcorum," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 34 (1951-52), 44-68.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, "The Influence of Islamic Culture on Medieval Europe," Bulletin of John Rylands Library, 38 (1955-56), 82-98.

<sup>4</sup>Well documented in Daniel, Islam and the West. One may question however Daniel's presupposition that there was an accepted "corpus" of materials re: Islam in Medieval Europe. While it is true that there was much repetition of earlier prejudice and polemics, there were also hopeful strands springing forth. For a more positive treatment of those aspects which foster Christian-Muslim dialogue cf. R. W. Southern, Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

and access to Islam via Spain.<sup>1</sup> The thirteenth century saw increased missionary activity and writing under St. Francis (who personally visited Cairo) and his order; such Dominicans as Humbert of Romans, San Ramon, and Raymond Martini; the Redemptionist Fathers in North Africa; the embassies of William of Rubroek and others to the Mongols, and such leading figures in missions and learning as William of Tripolis, Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon.<sup>2</sup> Darkness and despair, indifference and defiance of Islam again troubled fourteenth century Europe. Christian missions were in difficult straits in spite of the realism of Ricoldus de Monte Crucis (d. 1320) and the vision and courage of Raymond Lull (1235-1314), whom many consider the first great missionary to Muslims.<sup>3</sup> While Jerome Xavier bravely engaged in controversy at Akbar's Court (1580) in North India and others continued writing to Muslims, no one could erase the fact that missions to Islam had largely failed.<sup>4</sup>

While the situation for missions to Muslims looked unpromising, there were certain glimmers of hope, moments of vision. Forces and figures were at work, in fact the very ones influencing the Reformation, shaping improved attitudes and activity concerning Islam. Europe was experiencing intellectual and religious

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. R. W. Southern, Western Views; M. W. Knowles, "Peter the Venerable," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 39 (1956-57), 132-145; James Kritzeck, Peter the Venerable and Islam (Princeton, 1964) and "Robert of Ketton's Translation of the Qur'an," I.Q., 2 (1955), 309-312; D. M. Dunlop, "A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain in the 11th Century," Al-Andalus, 17 (1952), 259-310; and Allan Cutler, "Who was the 'Monk of France' and when did He write?" Al-Andalus, 28 (1963), 249-270 and Catholic Missions to the Moslems to the End of the First Crusade (1099), (unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1963).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Berthold Altaner, Die Dominikanermissionen des 13 Jahrhunderts (Habelschwert, Schlesien, 1924); Odulphus van der Vat, Die Anfaenge der Franziskanermissionen (Werl in Westfallen, 1934); A. Graf, "Mohammedanermission in Mittelalter," E.M.M., 1916, 58ff; and M. A. Schmidt, "Thomas von Aquino und Raymundus Lullus, zwei Grundtypen missionarischen Denkens im Mittelalter," E.M.M., 1953, 37ff and "Thomas von Aquino und die Mohammedaner-mission," E.M.M., 1955, 70ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Allison Peers, Ramon Lull (London, 1929); E. Kellerhals, Raymundus Lullus, ein Ritter Jesu Christi (Basel, 1948) and S. M. Zwemer, Raymond Lull, First Missionary to the Moslems (New York, 1902).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Dorman, Toward Understanding Islam, pp. 37ff.



"combustion". A middle class or bourgeois arose to give new vitality to society and Church. Contacts with the world outside "Christendom" gave added impetus to linguistics, military science, manual crafts, commerce, philosophy, etc. During the Renaissance, advances were made in translating Greek and Arabic works and in the development of science. Roger Bacon helped form a new methodology by replacing the metaphysical question of "Why things happen" with "How they happen". Robert Grosseteste added to this experimental approach to subjects.<sup>1</sup> This helped clear the way for a more scholarly approach to Islam, e.g. Richard Fitzralph.<sup>2</sup> At the same time Eastern mysticism became the subject of the Florentine poets and the German mystics. All Europe was being transformed as the frozen concept of "Holy Roman Empire" gave way to new national states. Europe abounded with new energy. (1213-1215), Peter Waldo and His Poor Men of Lyons, the German mystics

Even more remarkable were the religious stirrings. Although the Roman Catholic Church claimed to be the sole "channel of salvation" and at times exhibited a calloused exclusiveness to those outside her borders, there were notable exceptions. Brave individuals attempting a more accurate presentation of the Christian Faith, began uprooting the misconceptions obstructing the mission of Christ, the grace of God, in its extension to men of all realms, races and religions. Several examples may suffice. Uthred of Boldon, a Benedictine monk at the University of Oxford during the 1360s, had declared that at the moment of death all human beings, Christian, Muslim and others were given a direct vision of God. Their response to this determined their eternal destiny. Although this view was condemned, it discloses a man trying to relax Rome's restrictive grip and to recover the concept of God's mercy in Christ. His compassion for non-Christians

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. The Opus Major of Roger Bacon (trans. by R. B. Burke, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1928); Steward Easton, Roger Bacon (Oxford, 1952); and A. C. Crombie, Robert Grosseteste and the Origin of Experimentation (Oxford, 1953).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Daniel, Islam and the West, pp. 50-52, 276-280, 381f., 400.

breathes the spirit of Christian mission.<sup>1</sup> The pre-reformer, John Wyclif (ca. 1328-1384) attained an understanding of Islam far in advance of his age. He acknowledged that the ills of the Church had separated Latin and Orthodox Christians, promoting the rise of Islam and that pride, worldly power and self-will afflicted both Rome and Islam. Only a return to the poverty and spirit of Christ could meet the problem of Islam. He mocked the appeals to war and the claims of either religion to "given realms", i.e. Christendom or Dar-al-Islam. Salvation is offered to the whole world and the sole condition is "belief in the Lord Jesus Christ". His views and works were seen as dangerous and condemned, yet his ideas continued to percolate in the West long after his bones were burnt.<sup>2</sup> Similar concern for those outside the Christian community was expressed by John Hus of Bohemia (1313-1415), Peter Waldo and his Poor Men of Lyons, the German mystics (Theologia Germanica), the Brethren of the Common Life and Girolamo Savonarola of Italy (1452-1498).

Some Roman Catholic leadership also expressed concern for better Christian-Muslim relationships. The ventures of four bishops of different nationalities and experience in the period (1450-1460), have been described as a "Moment of Vision".<sup>3</sup> Spaniard John of Segovia (ca. 1400-1458) directed a translation of the Quran (Qur'ān) from the Arabic and proposed a conference (contraferentia). Even if the latter failed to win Muslims to the Christian faith, it would produce some thirty other religious and practical benefits. Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), a German textual scholar of note, compares the Quranic and Christian portrayals of God in a hypothetical dialogue of representatives of the world's religions who are seeking

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. M. D. Knowles, "The Censured Opinions of Uthred of Boldon," Proceedings of the British Academy, 38 (1953), 315ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Southern, Western Views, pp. 72-83.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-104.

the good and the true. Free from polemical narrowness, he advised studying the ideas and practices of Islam via the "lay-opinion" of merchants of the Near East and then to discuss the issues with Muslim delegates in a great conference. By use of literary, historical and philological criticism in The Sieving of the Koran (Cribratio Alchoran, 1460), he reveals that the Quran has three strands: (1) basic Nestorian Christianity, (2) anti-Christian sentiments urged upon Muhammad by Jewish advisors, and (3) corruptions added after Muhammad's death by correctors. His ability to limit the area of discussion, his treatment of the Quran as a historical document (hence eliminating the need for vicious polemics), and his realization that Christian-Muslim tension reflected Western-Nestorian discussion regarding the nature of God's manifestation in Christ, identifies Nicolas of Cusa as a distinguished Christian scholar. In a more polemical spirit, the tracts, Adversus Mahometanos et infideles and Adversus Alcoranum by Jean Germain (ca. 1400-1461) a Frenchman of Cluny conclude that there must be a revival of martial and spiritual Christianity to improve Christian-Muslim relationships. Aeneas Silvius (1405-1464; Pope: 1458-1464) reflected the rational humanism of the Renaissance. His letter to Muhammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople (1460), is more than a polemical show of strength. While neglecting the finer Christian spirit, it represents a humanistic attempt to find a solution other than the sword. These four men, as Southern has shown, have mastered the new knowledge of the thirteenth century, gained the capacity of self-criticism of the fourteenth century, and admit the complexity of the "Muslim" problem while differing in their "solutions".<sup>1</sup> This then was the setting for the Reformation, the legacy of attitudes and activity that Protestants were to inherit.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., and Nicholas Rescher, "Nicholas of Cusa on the Qur'an," M.W., 55 (1965), 195-202.



## THE REFORMATION: FORCES OF FERMENTATION

To the surprise of many, the Reformation did not bring a sudden unleashing of Protestant mission activity. A number of writers, including several Roman Catholics, charge the Reformers with neglect of the subject.<sup>1</sup> Others, more fairly it seems, find the "missionary ideal" powerfully latent and undergoing purification.<sup>2</sup> The Reformers disrupted as well as renewed the affairs of the Church. They plowed up the establishment to make way for new life: recovering the Word, unshackling the doctrine of "grace" and liberating a sector of the Church of Christ. Although preoccupied with the Scriptures, popes and politics, they took a preparatory step towards modern missions.

Admittedly, Martin Luther (1483-1546) did not explicitly devise a mission program, but he did have much to say about Islam and the preaching of the Word. It is a mistake to test him by the standard of nineteenth century "missions", but fair to expect a biblical understanding of "missions".<sup>3</sup> Again it is wrong to hold that Luther's eschatology and doctrine of election curtailed the development of his concept of mission. Frequently eschatology works as an incentive.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Gustav Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions (ed. by George Robson, Edinburgh, 1901), pp. 8ff; W. R. Hogg, "The Rise of Protestant Missionary Concern, 1517-1914," in The Theology of Christian Mission (ed. G. H. Anderson, London, 1961), pp. 95-111; and numerous Roman Catholic histories.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Johannes Vanden Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love: An Inquiry into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period Between 1698 and 1815 (Kampen, 1956), pp. 4ff and "Calvin's Missionary Message," Evangelical Quarterly, 22 (1950), 174-187; S. M. Zwemer, "Calvinism and the Missionary Enterprise," Theology Today, 7 (1950), 206-216; G. L. Plitt, Kurze Geschichte der lutherischen Mission (Erlangen, 1871); W. Schlatter, "Kalvin und die Mission," E.M.M., 53 (1909), 48ff; and Ernst Pfisterer, "Der Missionsgedanke bei Calvin," A.M.Z., (March, 1934), 101ff.

<sup>3</sup>As does Warneck, Outline, pp. 9ff. Compare with Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 5ff.

In Luther's case, it may have promoted his pessimism (i.e. saw Church surrounded by devils in an era of darkness) and his belief in the vocation of every Christian to witness (against the Roman idea of "apostolic succession"). He stands closer to the twentieth century "theologians of the Word" than to the nineteenth century confidence in man's ability and progress. Luther never allowed his belief that the Turks were God's instruments of judgment on the sins of Christendom to rule out their evangelization. Nor did the expectation of Christ's return dispose this vigorous preacher-author to inactivity. He writes:

"Before the last day comes, church rule and the Christian faith must spread over all the world, as the Lord Christ foretold that there should not be a city in which the Gospel should not be preached, and that the Gospel must go through all the world, so that all should have the witness in their conscience, whether they believe it or not....The Gospel has been in Egypt, but is now away; then it has been in Greece and Italy, in Spain, France and other lands. Now it is in Germany, for how long who knows? In the eleventh chapter to the Romans, St. Paul says also that the Gospel must be preached through all the world, so that all the heathen may hear, that the fulness of the heathen is thus to be brought to heaven."<sup>1</sup>

While Luther had no doctrine of missions per se, he was keen on preaching the Gospel to all lands. He certainly was aware that the task was unfinished:

"All the world does not mean one or two parts; but everywhere where people are, thither the Gospel must speed and still ever speeds, so that, even if it does not remain always in a place, it yet must come to, and sound forth in, all parts and corners of the earth."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Warneck, Outline, p. 16. An excellent index to Luther's statements regarding "mission" and "spreading the Gospel" may be found in Plass, Ewald M., What Luther Says: An Anthology, 3 vols., (St. Louis, Missouri, 1959), pp. 957ff. This provides a guide to D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar Edition, 1883-1939). For example, Luther writes (March 1522) "This noble Word brings with it a great hunger and an insatiable thirst, so that we could not be satisfied even though many thousands of people believe on it; but we wish that no one should be without it." (Weimar Edition 10, II, 54.)

In a sermon on John 20:19-31, Luther says: "The Lord wants to say:... Henceforth spend your lives serving and helping everyone; otherwise you have nothing to do on earth, for through faith you have enough of everything, Therefore I send you into the world as My Father has sent Me, that is, that every Christian may instruct and teach his fellow man also to come to Christ." (Weimar Edition, 12, 521).

For additional insights into Luther's ideas cf. Weimar Edition: 12, 267 and 288; 13, 525; 16, 215f; 24, 261; 30 II, 208; 31, I, 339; 37, 435; 40 II, 118; 44, 612; 45, 540; and 47, 466. A Hymn for Mission Success (based on Ps. 67) may be found in the Weimar Edition 35, 418f.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Warneck, Outline, p. 12.



There is of course, partial realization of the Kingdom:

"The spiritual Jerusalem, which is the Kingdom of Christ, must be extended by the Gospel throughout the whole world. That has already come to pass. The Gospel has been preached, and upon it the Kingdom of God has been firmly established in all places under heaven, so that it now reaches and abides to the end of the world, and in it we, by the mercy and compassion of God are citizens."<sup>1</sup>

But Luther is too much of a pessimist to be utopian, to rely upon man's ability or innate goodness:

"What the Lord says of other sheep which He must also bring, so that there shall be one fold and one shepherd, began immediately after Pentecost, when the Gospel was preached by the Apostles through all the world, and will continue so to be until the end of the world. Not so that all men shall turn and accept the Gospel. That will never be. The Devil will never let that come to pass. Therefore there will ever be in the world many faiths and religions."<sup>2</sup>

An Ascension Sermon reveals Luther's awareness of the present task to evangelize:

"Here there rises a question on this passage: 'Go ye into all the world,' as to how it is to be understood and held fast, since verily the Apostles have not come into all the world, for no Apostle has come to us, and also many islands have been discovered in our day where the people are heathen and no one has preached to them: yet the scripture saith their voice has sounded forth into all lands. Answer; their preaching has gone out into all the world, though it has not yet come into all the world. That out-going has been begun and gone on, though it has not yet been fulfilled and accomplished; but there will be further and wider preaching until the last day. When the Gospel has been preached, heard, published and through the whole world, then the commission shall have been fulfilled, and the last day shall come."<sup>3</sup>

Without organizing mission phenomena or deputizing messengers for the East, Luther is still conscious of "mission"! He emphasizes the universality of Christianity and its elevation above the limits of place, time, rank, and nations. There is a tremendous mission impulse latent in some of his teaching:

"When it is said in the 117th Psalm, 'Praise the Lord all ye heathen,' we are assured that we are heathen, and that we also shall certainly be heard by God in heaven....If all the heathen shall praise God, it must first be that He shall be their God. Shall He be their God? Then they must know Him

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 12f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This exposition of Mark 16:14ff. is followed by the metaphor of the Gospel's spread like the waves caused by a pebble. Ibid., p. 14.

and believe in Him, and put away all idolatry since God cannot be praised with idolatrous lips or with unbelieving hearts. Shall they believe? Then they must first hear His Word and by it receive the Holy Ghost, Who cleanses and enlightens their hearts through faith. Are they to hear His Word? Then preachers must be sent who shall declare to them the Word of God."<sup>1</sup>

Luther lamented the difficulty of filling Protestant pulpits in Germany, alas he had no preachers to spare for foreign lands. Yet the Gospel would be preached abroad, for witness was also the activity of the laity! It must be concluded that Luther's limited treatment of mission is due to external circumstances, not to theological defect.

What was Luther's attitude towards and understanding of Islam? The Turks were certainly a significant problem! They had overrun Belgrade, destroyed the King and the prime of Hungary in the battle of Mohacz (1526), besieged Vienna (1529) and threatened the yet unorganized League of German States (1532). Luther's two-sided response to the situation is related to his doctrine of the two swords (re: the Christian's dual but separate obligations to Church and State). Temporal rulers must counter the political-military threat but not in the name of Christianity (i.e. rejects "crusade" idea). Something more is expected however from the Church:

"It does not belong to the Pope, in so far as he would be a Christian, yea, the chiefest and best preacher of Christ, to lead a church army or a Christian army, for the church must not fight with the sword. It has other weapons, another sword and other wars, with which it has enough to do, and must not mix itself up with the wars of the emperor and the princes."<sup>2</sup>

In his Bulla de Coena Domini (1522), he demanded that the Pope send evangelists rather than warriors to the Turks. He hoped that Christians in Muslim lands might have a radiating influence; even urged captive Christians to witness:

"Where thou dost faithfully and diligently serve, there thou mayest adorn and honour the Gospel and the name of Christ, so that thy master, and perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 11f; Weimar Edition 31 I, 228f; or Pelikan, Jaroslav (ed.), Luther's Works, (St. Louis, Missouri, 1958) vol. 14, pp. 11ff. Here one finds the double use of Heiden to mean either Gentiles, e.g. Germans, etc. or heathen/non-Christians.

<sup>2</sup> Warneck, Outline, p. 11.

many others, evil as they are, shall be constrained to say, 'These Christians are faithful, dutiful, pious, humble, diligent people,' and thus thou mayest confound the faith of the Turks, and mayhap convert many when they see that Christians surpass the Turks in humility, patience, diligence, fidelity, and such like virtues."<sup>1</sup>

Here is then a mission of the laity. In the circumstances, Luther's attitude towards Turks is quite moderate in comparison to many medieval writers.<sup>2</sup>

In an ill-informed Europe, Luther took a rather scholarly approach to Islam. Familiar with Avicenna and Averroes, he urges use of Islam's primary materials. He published: Libellus de vita et moribus Turcarum (1529), a study of the life and customs of the Turks;<sup>3</sup> a preface and appendix to the German edition of Ricoldo's Confutatio Alcorani (1542); and a preface to Buchmann's Latin translation of the Quran (1542-43) which he had encouraged.<sup>4</sup> This was in line with his desire for a knowledgeable laity. Historically, Luther saw Islam as God's judgement upon Roman corruption, a "rod of correction for our sins". But Islam has set aside "Revelation" for rationalism. It is the religion of "the natural man". This partly

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>For fuller treatment cf. E. Kellerhals, Der Islam, pp. 319ff; G. Simon, "Luther's Attitude toward Islam," M.W., 21 (1931), 257-62; C. U. Wolf, "Luther and Mohammedanism," M.W., 31 (1941), 161-177; H. Barge, "Luthers Stellung zum Islam," A.M.Z., 1961, 108ff; Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521-55 (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); F. Schlingensiepen, Luther's Doctrine of the "Two Kingdoms" and his writings Against the Turks (unpublished dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1953); and W. Holsten, Reformation and Mission (Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte XLIV, 1953).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Weimar Edition, 30 II, 184, 189f, 207f.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. R. G. Pfister, "Die Zürcher Koran Ausgabe von 1542/3," E.M.M., 1955, 37ff. Luther believed the best way to defeat Islam was to circulate the Quran. Of it he says in comments on Genesis 17, "When that Mohammedan Monstrosity, the Quran, is at its best, it is nothing but a sausage stuffed with sentences mixed together in confusion from the Law and the Gospel. For both Jewish and Mohammedan fanatics have picked from Scripture whatever served their institutions and the flesh." Cf. Plass, E. M., What Luther Says, p. 961. Weimar Edition, 42, 603.



explains its appeal and success, even though it, like Rome the Anti-Christ, must one day be judged according to Revelation. There are numerous parallels between Rome and Islam: abuse of secular power, lax morality, tradition bound, and the legalistic doctrine of "salvation by works".<sup>1</sup> Luther's solution to the dilemma is two-fold: reform and evangelism. In the tragic light of man's sinfulness, only prayer and repentance will suffice. This means a return to the Word, the only news of God's grace for men in despair. But closely akin to it are "the seeds of mission", the preaching of this Word! Never over-optimistic, man's only joy and hope rests upon the "grace of God in Christ".

Much could be said about Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531), A. H. Bullinger, Theodore Buchmann (or Bibliander), Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) and Martin Bucer (1491-1551),<sup>2</sup> but this study must be confined to the other great figure of the Reformation, John Calvin (1509-1564). Calvin's correspondence with Farel after 1538 reveals his full awareness of the battles in Hungary, the threatening Turkish advances, and the problem of dealing with those who have gone over to Islam. Differing from Luther and Melanchthon, he cannot find "turks" in the prophecy of Daniel. For him, Islam is not to be compared to "True Religion" according to the Word of God, but to the commentaries of the Pharisees or the papal doctrines appended to the Gospels. The distorted Biblical stories and rabbinical traditions in the Quran illustrate how serious is a departure from the pure and simple Word of God. Like Luther, Calvin was preoccupied with biblical studies, Rome's threats,

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<sup>1</sup>Luther frequently uses "Turks" as a club on Rome. Cf. Bertram L. Woolf, Reformation Writings of Martin Luther (2 vols., London, 1952-56), I, pp. 140, 178, et passim. Also cf. Weimar Edition, 40 II, 275. At other times he treats Islam as an apocalyptic sign of the approaching end of the world. Cf. Southern, Western Views, pp. 40f.

<sup>2</sup>Melanchthon took a harder polemical line with Muslims. Cf. Manfred Kohler, Melanchthon und der Islam (Leipzig, 1938). Bucer stresses the motive of compassion for the heathen and the desire to win their souls for Christ. His emphasis on human piety, activity in the work of God foreshadows pietist missions. Cf. Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 7 and 10.

and political instability; hence he contributed more to the understanding of the "Word" than to direct consideration of a religious encounter of Christians and Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Yet in other ways, he creates a foundation for modern missions, standing in a class by himself. He grasped hold of the core of the Christian faith which gave rise to a rich development of missionary activity, i.e. his ideas of Soli Deo Gloria (sovereign glory of God) and Sola Gratia (salvation by the love, grace of God and hence basis of Christian liberty, gratitude and responsible action).

Zwemer has summarized some of Calvin's mission-related ideas:

"The Call of the Gospel is for all men, says Calvin (Sermons on Deut., Opera, 28). God desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth—'all states and all peoples' (Sermons on I Tim., Opera, 53). Nor is the duty of evangelism to all the world hemmed in or contradicted by the doctrine of predestination (Inst. III, 23:12-14). 'We do not know,' writes Calvin, 'whom God has elected nor where his elect dwell.'

"Moreover we are in duty bound to pray for the heathen, 'for all people in the whole earth' (Inst. III, 20:36-40). This comes out clearly in his exposition of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer. The same thought is emphasized in a powerful sermon on Daniel (Opera, 41) where he exclaims, 'When we think and pray only about our own needs and do not remember those of our neighbors, we cut ourselves loose from the body of Christ Jesus our Lord and how can we then be joined to God.'

"Calvin also sees as the goal of all missions the Glory of God. To draw souls out of hell and put them on the way of salvation is to glorify God (Sermon on Deut., Opera, 33:18-19). The same thought occurs in a sermon on Isaiah 12:4-5. 'This is our duty, everywhere to make known among the nations the goodness of our God.'"<sup>2</sup>

Calvin's understanding of the "image" of God in man, and of "common grace" which leaves man ever longing for God avoids that extreme discontinuity between God and Man (e.g. Barth)<sup>3</sup> which allows no points of contact between Christianity and other religions (cf. Institutes I, 3:1-3, II:8; II, 2:13-15). Calvin's views of the sovereignty of God, the authority of Revelation, faith as the regulative principle for all of life, and Christianity's claim to finality, universality, gave him a

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. J. Pannier, "Calvin et les Tures," Revue Historique, 180 (1937), 268-286 and Calvin's Commentary on Daniel (Dan. 7:7f, 19f, 23f.).

<sup>2</sup>Zwemer, "Calvinism and the Missionary Enterprise," pp. 210f.

<sup>3</sup>Emil Brunner, Natural Theology: comprising "Nature and Grace" and the reply "No" by...K. Barth (trans. by P. Franckel) London, 1946.

"world vision", a base for missionary action. It is interesting to note that of the Reformers, Calvin was the only one to correspond with a missionary venture in a foreign land. Unfortunately his correspondence with the three hundred Swiss-French Calvinists who settled in Brazil (and sought to evangelize the pagan Indians there) did not survive.<sup>1</sup> But his far-flung interest and correspondence with Knox in Scotland, the King of Poland, England, France and the Netherlands testify to his zeal for evangelism abroad. He saw the whole world as the setting for the struggle between Christ's Kingdom and the Satan's powers of darkness, but he was never hemmed in by despair as Luther.

"God has created the entire world that it should be the theater of his glory by the spread of his Gospel."<sup>2</sup>

Warneck held that Calvin encouraged Christian magistracy to spread the Christian faith to non-Christian lands (e.g. Dutch theory of missions).<sup>3</sup> While this is doubtful, it is correct to state that wherever Calvinism spread, there was laid the latent seeds of missionary zeal which later bore fruit.<sup>4</sup> It was this that later motivated Churches of the Reformed faith to tackle the Muslim problem almost alone for a century (1800-1900). The best demonstration of the "missionary ideal" latent in Calvin's thought is demonstrated by Adrianus (Hadrian) Saravia (1531-1613), a Dutch Reformed Pastor who later became Dean of Westminster. He

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 206, 211; Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 7ff; and G. Baez-Camargo, "The Earliest Protestant Missionary Venture in Latin America," Church History 21 (1952), 135-145.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Zwemer, "Calvinism," p. 208.

<sup>3</sup>Warneck, Outline, pp. 19f.

<sup>4</sup>For example, the title page of the first Scottish Confession presented to Parliament (1560) read: "And this glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come." Its concluding prayer petitioned: "Give Thy servants strength to speak Thy word in boldness; and let all nations attain to Thy true knowledge." Ibid., p. 20. The first Protestant missionary to the Turks was a Reformed preacher, Wenzeslaus Budowitz of Budapest, a convinced Calvinist born in 1551. Cf. M.W., 17 (1927), 401ff.



set forth the "present missionary obligation" of the Church in a treatise in 1590. Unfortunately the Reformation was already moving into its Scholastic-Orthodox phase and the debate regarding "missions" was on!<sup>1</sup> Yet this does not obscure Calvin's own spirit of expectation, latent missionary zeal, prayers for the conversion of the heathen and desire to draw all men to Christ. Vanden Berg captures the balance found in Calvin:

"If we venture to draw a conclusion...we would say that Calvinistic missionary activity was at its height when there was perfect harmony and unity between the theological and soteriological line in Calvinism. Where the theological line is emphasised at the expense of the soteriological, there looms a secularised Calvinism, which in its desire to fight 'the wars of the Lord' on the broad front of life loses its passion for souls, but on the other hand a one-sided stress on soteriology leads to a sterile mysticism which is quite passive with regard to the missionary task."<sup>2</sup>

While both Luther and Calvin stress both the theocentric and soteriological, it is Calvin who has the stronger dynamics, the view to world renewal, and the more immediate concern to save the perishing.<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted that the limited undeveloped concept of mission in the Reformers is thus due to outward circumstances, rather than to theological failings. As the Turkish-Roman threats subsided; as means and entrance to non-Christian lands presented itself to Protestants; as Protestantism consolidated itself, then passed through the adolescence of "scholastic orthodoxy" to rediscover its evangelical experience and motives to mission, this "latent" concept of mission would bear fruit.

Four positive elements in the Reformers' teaching stand out. First, mission must have its starting point in what God has done in Jesus Christ, for no human enterprise is adequate. Calvin stresses Grace:

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<sup>1</sup>For a fuller treatment of Saravia, cf. Warneck, Outline, pp. 20-22, Vanden Berg, "Calvin's Missionary Message," p. 182ff. Erasmus also deserves credit for his early ideas of missions to Muslims. Cf. Zwemer, "Calvinism," p. 212 and George Smith, Short History of Christian Missions (5th ed.), pp. 116-118.

<sup>2</sup>Vanden Berg, "Calvin's Missionary Message," p. 186.

<sup>3</sup>Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 11f.

"We are taught that the Kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the industry of men, but this is the work of God alone; for believers are taught to rest solely on His blessing."<sup>1</sup>

Second, both Calvin and Luther live in "expectation" regarding God's unfinished work in creation. Luther makes lively use of the future tense: "The gospel will be the preaching that illumines all the world" and "the preachers will fly across the orb and find out those who expect them and receive them with joy". Calvin lives in hope:

"As our own salvation proceeds from the sheer unmerited mercy of God, why should he not do the same to those who are still on the road to ruin which we, too, have been treading."<sup>2</sup>

Third, man has a role in God's work (mission). The awareness of sin, longing for the Second Coming and discussion of "election" never blunted the Reformers' activity, for God's initiative of grace energizes not paralyzes preaching. The idea of the "priesthood of believers" provides the basis of a dynamic witness/mission. Fourth, the Reformers' limited understanding of mission would expand with the coming of a supply of evangelists, contacts with the East, and the new vistas that came via exploration (e.g. Cook). Once the impeding factors dropped away, their awareness of God's glory, salvation by grace, and the coming Kingdom would provide the motives for mission. The Reformation marks a step forward in that the Church coupled self-criticism to a rediscovery and return to the Word of God's grace in Christ. Although providing no immediate answer to Islam, it worked for the death of ignorance and indifference and for the birth of a sensitivity

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Warneck, Outline, p. 20. Cf. Vanden Berg, Constrained, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in the superb work, "Were the Reformers Indifferent to Missions?" by D. H. W. Gensichen in History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission (W.S.C.F., Geneva, n.d.), 119-127, esp. pp. 121f. Also of interest: Wm. Clark, "The Conception of the Mission of the Church in Early Reformed Theology" with Special Reference to Calvin's Theology and Practice in Geneva (unpublished dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1928).



for Muslims and others. By clarifying the role of the "Word" (over against tradition and institution) and by stressing the Church's independence from Empire, the Reformation helped shake the ingrown nature of the Church and turn her concern to the world beyond.

#### HELPS AND HINDRANCES IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF MISSION AND ISLAM

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of forces were at work promoting or obstructing the emergence of a Protestant concept and program of missions. There were what can be called external, perhaps geographic incentives. First, there was the link between the Reformation and the Oriental Church which had brought a new awareness of the needs of the East. Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople (1621-1638), had studied at Wittenberg and Geneva and continued to correspond with Reformation leaders in Geneva, Holland and England. The teachings of Calvin encouraged him to attempt to reform the Greek Orthodox Church. Antoine Leger, a Swiss Reformed minister was called to the Dutch Embassy at Constantinople to assist in translating Reformed writings and the New Testament, and in the preparation of Cyril's significant Confessio Fidei.<sup>1</sup> Although this venture proved fatal for Cyril, it did stimulate new life in the East (Jerusalem Synod, 1672) and a new awareness in the West. Many other travelers in this period brought back reports of the trials of Christians and Turks under the Ottomans.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Latin and Greek translations of this Confession (1629-31) were followed by French and English editions, which aroused great interest in Europe. Wm. Rait published it in Aberdeen, Scotland under the title "A Vindication of the Reformed Religion" (1671).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. G. A. Hadjiantoniou, Cyril Lucaris: His Life and Work (unpublished thesis, New College, Edinburgh, 1948), esp. pp. 103ff, 162ff; Gibb, H. A. R. and Bowen, H., Islamic Society and the West (London, 1950-51), I, 235ff; Arnold, Preaching of Islam, pp. 135ff; and A. Pichler, Geschichte der Protestantismus in der orientalischen Kirche im 17 Jahrhundert oder Der Patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris und seine Zeit (Munich, 1862).

Second, exploration and colonization reflected "Europe on the move". Horizons to the West (Columbus, 1492) and to the East (Vasco da Gama, 1498) had been lifted. Soon the new Protestant nations of northern Europe were in the competition for territory. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) gave them a stable base for expansion. The rival embassies at Constantinople symbolized the inroads made even into the declining Ottoman Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> But even more important was the fact that Protestants became conscious of the vast realm of God's creation and its many peoples and began to feel a responsibility towards them. As David Livingstone (1813-1873) would later say; the end of the geographical enterprise is the beginning of missionary activity. Cook's travels influenced Carey. Zinzendorf became concerned even with Labrador and the Nicobar Islands. Third, there was the stimulus that came from Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox missions. Pope Gregory XV founded the Congregatio de propaganda fide (1622) and set new waves of French, Italian, and other missionaries out to claim the earth. By Decree (1700), Peter the Great aroused Orthodox missions to probe towards the Pacific and the Near East.<sup>2</sup> These manifestations of vitality in Christ's name stood as sharp criticism to Protestant lethargy. With a sting, Robert Bellarmine noted that "missions" are a mark of the true Church! These and many more stimuli prompted the first ventures in Protestant missions. At the start there were lone individuals such as the Reformed preacher Wenzeslaus Budowitz who served in Constantinople (1577-1581), the sacrificial labors of Presbyterians John Eliot (1604-90) and David Brainerd (1718-47) among the American Indians, and the early work of

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<sup>1</sup>For a full treatment of the ferment under the Ottomans cf. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, pp. 78-244; Wilbur W. White, The Processes of Change in the Ottoman Empire (Chicago, 1937), and A. S. Tritton, The Caliphs and their Non-Moslem Subjects (Oxford, 1930).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions, pp. 142ff, 177ff, 204ff; Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, II, 75-82; and Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, pp. 244-251.

the Anglican S.P.G. (founded 1701). The larger organizational ventures were closely identified with commerce or nationality. The Dutch East India Company (1602) established a Seminary at Leiden and imitated Roman Catholic methods in the new possessions of East Indies, Ceylon, Formosa and the New World. The remarkable difference was the emphasis on the Scriptures (Malay New Testament, 1688). The powerful British East India Company maintained a chaplaincy but restrained the forming of an English mission program in the East. Anglicans were more active in the New World via S.P.G. Early Danish-Halle Missions had a nationalistic if pietistic basis under patron King Frederick IV. Yet with the aid of August Francke (1663-1727), Bartholomew Ziegenbalg (1683-1719) and Henry Plütschau (1677-1746) were sent to Tranquebar, India (1706) to set forth the pattern and principles of many Protestant endeavors. The English S.P.C.K. (founded 1699) also aided the Lutherans in these efforts. Yet it is very apparent that these individual, Dutch, English and Danish-German missions all operated under severe handicaps.<sup>1</sup>

Equally significant was the internal debate regarding "mission". Various ideological-ecclesiastical barriers and theological incentives are to be noted. Between 1600 and 1800, a strenuous battle of ideas took place. Not only were there the exhausting inter-Protestant quarrels e.g. Lutherans v.s. "Philippists", Calvinists v.s. Arminians, Anglicans v.s. Puritans and Independents, but the growth of a Protestant "rationalism" or "scholasticism" (sometimes called the "orthodoxy" of the day) which was coldly indifferent or vocally opposed to missions. These Post-reformation theologians frequently "proof-texted" their own views in elaborate fashion, pro or con regarding "missions". Warneck and others have documented this running debate. It began when figures such as English Puritan Thomas Sibbs (d. 1635) and Dutchman Hadrian Saravia (d. 1613) declared that the missionary obligation was presently valid for the whole Church. Surprisingly the bitterest

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Neill, History of Christian Missions, pp. 220-231; Warneck, Outline, pp. 42ff; Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 15ff.



opposition came from the leaders of "Orthodoxy". Some of the arguments were that the commission had been fulfilled by the Apostles; that the theory was based on faulty construction of the apostolic office or precluded by the doctrine of "election"; that the duty if existent belonged to civil rulers; or that while the principle was valid, the time was not ripe for its practical discharge. These opinions were set forth by Theodore Beza (d. 1605) of Geneva and Johannes Gerhard (d. 1637). Yet at the same time others were taking practical action. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) prepared his treatise, De veritate religionis Christianae (1627) to help Christian workers in the Far and Near East and "to awaken the lapsed churches of the East to new evangelical life". Peter Heyling of Lubeck went to Egypt and Abyssinia (1634) to labor and die a martyr. The next verbal round came in 1651 when Count Erhardt Truchsess called the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg to acknowledge that Matthew 28:19 still required obedience. In true "orthodox" fashion they refuted the charge. The next step followed in 1664 as Baron Justinian von Weltz (1621-1668) prepared numerous treatises urging his fellow Lutherans to missionary action. He set forth the biblical, historical and doxological reasons for "mission", refuting the oft repeated "orthodox" arguments for inactivity. He proposed practical action via missionary societies; the study of lands, peoples and religions; and selection of the Danish, Swedish and Dutch colonies for mission fields. He taught these ideas in Holland and after consecration at Zwoll, went to serve till death in Dutch Guiana. Even Oliver Cromwell "proposed" missions.<sup>1</sup> Something of a "breakthrough" began about 1700 as more voices arose to support missions. Many causes have been suggested and perhaps all influenced the development: the Enlightenment (Aufklärung, from Leibniz, d. 1716 to Kant, d. 1804); scientific discovery (Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Harvey,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Warneck, Outline, pp. 20ff. Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 16, 23f; and Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill, A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948 (London, 1954), pp. 88ff.

Newton) and parallel philosophies (Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza); the penetration of Pietism into most sectors of Protestantism; and the accumulative effects of von Weltz and others. While the complexity of the situation is too great for intensive examination here, it is to be noted that A. H. Francke (d. 1727) and Count N. L. von Zinsendorf (d. 1760) successfully launched mission schemes.<sup>1</sup>

Eighteenth century Protestant Missions flow forth from four sources.

In Holland, the Dutch East India Company becomes patron of "colonial missions" reflecting the pre-Reformation idea that the civil authority is responsible for Christianizing his territory. There were efforts in Brazil and North America as well as in the East Indies. Begun with great enthusiasm for the Scriptures and the conversion of the inhabitants of the land, these ventures slowly wore down under the restrictive hand of the patron. The Danish-Halle Mission received royal approval and the support of the pietists. This solid enterprise established many principles in mission methods and ecumenical cooperation, but it too began to taper off by the end of a century. Perhaps the most zealous, sacrificial and warm-hearted missions sprang forth from the Pietistic inspired Moravians of Herrnhut (Saxony) under Zinsendorf. Their concept of the whole Church as a "missionary church" introduces a new element into the Church's history.<sup>2</sup> British missions were prompted partly by "religious tyranny" under the Crown and partly by volunteer action. The emigration of Scottish and English Puritans ("Pilgrim Fathers") in 1620 and the formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company created a work force in the New World with the stated purpose of converting the native heathen. In this setting arose those pioneer missionaries John Eliot (d. 1690) and David Brainerd (d. 1748) and mission advocates Cotton Mather (d. 1725) and Jonathan Edwards (d. 1758). Indeed,

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<sup>1</sup>Warneck, Outline, pp. 41ff, and Hogg, "Rise of Protestant Missionary Concern, 1517-1914," 100ff.

<sup>2</sup>Warneck, Outline, pp. 42ff, 62ff; Karl Muller, 200 Jahre Br dermission (Herrnhut, 1931); and The Advance Guard, 200 Years of Moravian Mission, 1732-1932 (London, n.d.).

a fifth base for missions was evolving. Equally remarkable were those two free associations outside the British churches dedicated to promoting the Christian Faith among colonists and natives abroad in both West and East, namely the S.P.G. (1701) and the S.P.C.K. (1699).<sup>1</sup> Yet sad to say, as the eighteenth century progressed, these missionary forces waned. Missionary enthusiasm once more reached a valley, a nadir, before rising (1792-1815) again to a new summit, the zenith of the Great Century of Modern Missions (1815-1914).

Within the crucible of European thought, another parallel struggle regarding "Islam" was in process. There were those insisting upon preserving traditional distortions or creating new rational-romantic opinions of Islam and then those who were seeking new information or a scholarly understanding of this religion. These four groups or strands demonstrate the diversity of European views and warn against any statement as to a cohesive European image of Islam. A study of these developments in "attitude" towards people of another religion run closely parallel to the emerging Protestant concept of "mission". First, there were those "traditionalists" oft standing in the stream of Roman Catholic and Protestant scholasticism who were content to reiterate in uncritical fashion many of the existing prejudices about Islam. Like medieval writers, they added little new data.<sup>2</sup> Readers in the smugness of the early Elizabethian era wanted an entertaining presentation of Islam's falsehood, terror and predicted doom and were not concerned with its nature or doctrine. Lacking necessary details, many writers borrowed from medieval legends, the acids of the polemicists, and the reports of travellers; and then they freely filled the gaps with fiction and fantasy. These conglomerations of materials were often written for reasons other than to inform.<sup>3</sup> For example,

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<sup>1</sup>Warneck, Outline, pp. 47ff; Rouse and Neill, History of the Ecumenical Movement, pp. 100ff.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Daniel, Islam and the West, pp. 281-87; S. C. Chew, "Islam and England during the Renaissance," M.W., 31 (1941), 371-399 and The Crescent and the Rose (Oxford, 1937); Byron Smith, Islam in English Literature (Beirut, 1939); and Elie Salem, "The Elizabethian Image of Islam," Studia Islamica, 22 (1965), 43-54.



Humphrey Prideaux's (Dean of Norwich, d. 1724) famous work must not be understood as a polemic against Islam. It is really an attack upon the Deists and a defense of "revealed religion".<sup>1</sup> The topic of Islam often proved to be merely the battleground for other struggles.<sup>2</sup> These traditional views were definitely on the wane, however under the light of new facts and a changing spirit.

A second strand composed of satirists, historians, romantics and humanists shows more interest in literature per se than religion. Frequently they attack one form of prejudice only to replace it with another. Anonymous authors in the seventeenth century defended Islam by satirical literature.<sup>3</sup> Later the Count of Boulainvilliers lauded Muhammad:

"...You will easily forgive an old Companion, who is fond of introducing to your Acquaintance a very extra ordinary Personage: One who from an able Merchant, became a wise politician, and a renowned Legislator. In a word, a great man, a great genius, and a great prince. Much has he been injured, by the false colours in which the zeal and ignorance of former ages has transmitted him down to us. But the Count of Boulainvilliers has done him justice; he has wiped off the aspersions that deform'd his character; let him in the fairest point of light; and described this Heroe, and this Orator, with an eloquence equal to his own...."<sup>4</sup>

He then "uses" Islam as a tool to attack what he considered superfluous Christianity and to present his own religion of reason and naturalism. In a preface to his translation of the Quran, the humanist Savary gave Muhammad favorable

<sup>1</sup>H. Prideaux, The True Nature of Imposture fully display'd in the Life of Mahomet: with "A discourse annex'd for the Vindication of Christianity from this Charge. Offered to the Consideration of the Deists of the Present Age", (London, 1696-97, tenth edition, 1808). Deism or "natural religion" was best expressed by Tindal's Christianity as Old as the Creation (1730).

<sup>2</sup>John Donne in his satire "Ignatius and His Conclave..." (1610) attacked Jesuits and Muslims alike making "Mahomet" and Pope Boniface II argue concerning the "highest room" in Hell. An attack on the Unitarians bore the title, Historical and Critical Reflections upon Mahometanism and Socianianism (1712). Also cf. Daniel, Islam and the West, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Daniel, Islam and the West, pp. 289-299.

<sup>4</sup>Dedication to William Duncombe by the Count of Boulainvilliers, The Life of Mahomet (trans. from French original of 1730, London, 1731).

treatment as a wise politician, praised Islam as a "natural religion", and made the story of "Zayd and Zaynab" into a romantic narrative.<sup>1</sup> Voltaire's criticism of Islam is a thinly disguised attack on all religion. His play (1741) and essay (1756) caricature Muhammad and religion in general in order to promote his own philosophical "natural religion", but the contradiction of his snobbish life and acid pen provide little comfort to those seeking God.<sup>2</sup> The skeptical historian Gibbon shows little originality as he acknowledges Islam's complex origin, nature and success; expounds the Prophet's love for women, ambition and subtle politics; and notes the break between the idealistic reformer of Mecca and the politician of Medina.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) considered Muhammad "by no means the truest of Prophets, but I do esteem him a true one".<sup>4</sup> Frustrated by many sects and wearisome arguments, the Prophet sought the world's Maker and attuned himself to the "Law of Nature or the great Mystery of Existence". Muhammad thus "became" the advocate of Carlyle's brand of romantic naturalism (a reshaped Christianity), the model of individualism ("the minority of one"), and a hero of his people.<sup>5</sup> The Talisman by Sir Walter Scott and Lives of Mahomet and his Successors (ca. 1830) by Washington Irving also retain many legends, but nevertheless this literary effort discloses the West's growing interest in the Muslim world.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. M. Savary, Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe, accompagn   de notes, et pr  c  d   d'un abr  g   de la vie d Mahomet (Paris, 1783) and Morale de Mahomet ou Recueil des plus pures maximes du Coran (Paris, 1784).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet Le Proph  te (1741) and Essai sur les m  urs (1756).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. chapters 38 and 50 of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (London, 1776-1788). Gibbon portrayed Muhammad "with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other" and Islam as "the faith which is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction: that there is one God, and that Mohammed is the Prophet of God".

<sup>4</sup>T. Carlyle, "The Hero as Prophet" in On Heroes (London, 1841).

<sup>5</sup>This lecture reflects the ideas of Leibniz, Kant and Goethe. Cf. W. M. Watt, "Carlyle on Mohammed," Hibbert Journal, 55 (1954-55), 247-254. It may also be rooted in the essay, Of Heroic Virtue (1690) by a certain William Temple who appreciated Muhammad.

Thirdly, travellers bearing new information did much to correct misconceptions about Islam and the Muslim world. England's growing sea power brought new contact with the Mediterranean shores. Richard Hakluyt, the noted historian recorded this wider scope of adventure.<sup>1</sup> Visits to Persia by Jean Chardin (1643-1713) and Welsh Protestant, Sir Thomas Herbert brought word of the seemingly parallel denominational structures of Islam and Christianity. Former captives Christopher Angell and Francis Knight, and the English agent for the Barbary Coast, John Harrison, found a ready market for their narratives.<sup>2</sup> Pere Nau, an outstanding French Jesuit serving in Syria, vividly described Muslim-Christian encounters and urged Christians to "deal with Muslims with a humble air full of gentleness as the Gospel commands".<sup>3</sup> Reports by Joseph Pitts, Carsten Niebuhr, Thorkild Hansen and Paul of Aleppo combine penetrating exploration and accurate observation of the secrets of Near Eastern geography, peoples and religion.<sup>4</sup> The travel literature of the eighteenth century soon warranted a separate section in many European libraries, inevitably affecting attitudes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation (2 vols., London, 1599).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. C. Angell, Travels (1617); F. Knight, A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie under the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant (London, 1640); and J. Harrison, The Tragical Life and Death of Muley Adala Melek the late King of Barbrie (Delph, Netherlands, 1633).

<sup>3</sup>Daniel considers Nau's sympathy for the partial truths of the Quran (Dialogus Pacificus) as a foreshadowing of A. K. Cragg's scholarly approach. Cf. Islam and the West, pp. 281ff.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. J. Pitts, A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans (3rd ed., London, 1731); C. Niebuhr, Description of l'Arabie (Amsterdam, 1774); T. Hansen, Arabia Felix (English trans. of the report of the Danish Expedition of 1761-1767, New York, 1964); and Travels of Marcarius, Patriarch of Antioch as written by his Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (trans. F. C. Belfour, 2 vols., London, 1829-36).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. M. A. Hachicho, "English Travel Books about the Arab Near East in the Eighteenth Centurh," W.I., 9 (1964), 1-206 and M. Anis, "British Travellers' impressions of Egypt in the late Eighteenth Century," Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, 13 (1951), 9-37.



Fourth and most noble was the growth of Islamic and Arabic scholarship amidst concerned Christians. Raymond Lull had pressed the Pope and Councils prior to the Reformation to establish schools of Arabic and oriental languages in Europe's Universities to facilitate the training of missionaries. Now in the seventeenth century with the rebirth of interest in the East and missions, one finds biblical scholars producing Arabic grammars and lexicons. A translator of the Authorized Version (1611), William Bedwell, published the Epistles of St. John in Arabic at Leiden and translated from Arabic several mathematical treatises and a Dialogue (reportedly between two Muslims disclosing the ills of Islam). In 1632, Sir Thomas Adams founded the first chair of Arabic at Cambridge and in 1636 Archbishop Laud endowed a chair at Oxford. Abraham Wheelock accepted the former chair and William Bedwell, who had meanwhile served with the Levant Company in Aleppo (1629-1636), the latter. Edward Pocock (the Elder) also served as chaplain at Aleppo collecting Arabic manuscripts, translating Grotius' great work on natural theology into Arabic (1660) and with his contemporary J. H. Hottinger greatly furthering oriental studies.<sup>1</sup> Christian Raue of Berlin showed zeal for semitic languages, displayed respect for Muslim piety in his edition of Quranic extracts, collected manuscripts for Archbishop Ussher in the Levant, and then established a missionary training college at Kiel.<sup>2</sup> Serious scholarship in this period was often linked to mission plans and programs. The excellent linguistics and careful scholarship regarding religions as exemplified by Hugo Grotius, Thomas Erpenius (grammars), Rapheleng (Lexicon Arabicum, Leiden, 1613), and Adrian Reland

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. L. Twells, Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock (includes "Life of Pocock", London, 1740) and J. H. Hottinger, Historia Orientalis (Zurich, 1651) and Smegna Orientalis (Heidelberg, 1658).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Christian Raue, "A Discourse concerning the Easterne Tongues" in A General Grammar (London, 1649) and Prima Tredecim partium Alcorani Arabico-Latini (Amsterdam, 1646).

Cf. Bernard Lewis, British Contributions to Arabic Studies (London, 1941); S. M. Katz, "Scottish Islamic Studies: Retrospect and Prospect", Annual Address, University of Edinburgh, 1965; and Daniel, Islam and the West, pp. 294-303.

were often linked to Dutch missions and colonies.<sup>1</sup> Many direct contributions centered about the Quran itself. André du Ryer bypassed Latin versions to make a fresh translation from the Arabic into vernacular French in 1647.<sup>2</sup> Ludovici Maracci demonstrated his skill in a new Latin translation with introduction and refutation (1698).<sup>3</sup> But the peak of Quranic scholarship for many years was the tempered and accurate English translation by George Sale (1734).<sup>4</sup> German scholars, J. C. Schwartz and M. G. Schroeder sought to show by textual-linguistic studies that the Quran is dependent on the Bible, but Jacob Ehrhart rejected the theory.<sup>5</sup> There appeared to be a ready market for these new studies and such works as J. Morgan's Mahometism Fully Explained (1723). European and British Islamic and Arabic scholarship was on its way.<sup>6</sup> What is significant is that the best of this had its birth and nurture in the midst of Christians concerned for peoples under other religions. There was a genuine cross-fertilization between Protestant "scholarship" and "missions". Interest in missions prompted many a scholarly work and that in turn became impetus and instrument for the missionary.

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<sup>1</sup>For an example Cf. Hadrian Reland, De religione Mohammedica (Utrecht, 1705) or the English version, Reland on the Mahometan Religion (London, 1712) and his tracts "Mahometan Religion" and "A Defence of the Mahometans" in Four Treatises Concerning the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Mahometans (London, 1721).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. André du Ryer, L'Alcoran de Mahomet traduit d'arabe en françois (Paris, 1647) and the version by A. Ross, The Alcoran of Mahomet translated out of Arabique into French...and Newly Englished with the Life and Death of Mahomet and A Needful Caveat (London, 1649).

<sup>3</sup>L. Maracci, Alcorani Textus Universus...His omnibus praemissus est Prodromus together with Refutatio Alcorani (Padua, 1698).

<sup>4</sup>G. Sale, The Koran...to which is prefixed a Preliminary Discourse (London, 1734; revised edition by Wherry, London, 1882).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. J. C. Schwartz, De Mohammed: Furto Sententiarum Scripturae Sacrae Liberum (Leipzig, 1711) and J. Ehrhart, De illustrium ac obscurum scriptorum erroribus praecipuis in Historia Mahometi eorumque causis dissertatio (Memmingen, 1731).

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Bernard Lewis, British Contributions to Arabic Studies (London, 1941); W. M. Watt, "Scottish Islamic Studies: Retrospect and Prospect" (Inaugural Address, University of Edinburgh, 1965); and Daniel, Islam and the West, pp. 294-300.

## EMERGENCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AN EVANGELICAL CONCEPT OF MISSION

"Mission" was inherent in Reformation teachings inasmuch as they were true expressions of the biblical message. Yet many factors were needed to stimulate the actual "re-formation" and implementation of "mission". The labor pains already observed led to the actual "deliverance" in the form of the Evangelical Missionary Movement. First to be noted are the Leaders and events prompting this movement. While circumstances varied in Europe, Britain and the New World, these Evangelical stirrings arose almost simultaneously disclosing that Lutheran, Anglican and Reformed groups were equally influenced by Christian piety and revival. In Germany, pietistic groups formed for Bible study, fellowship and Christian experience (the idea of the little church within the Church, ecclesiola in ecclesia) under P. J. Spener (d. 1705) the author of Pia Desideria (1675). This influenced A. H. Francke, Leibniz and Zinzendorf and spawned the "moravian ideal" of the "missionary church". As "state missions" began to suffer from spiritual-sclerosis, the Brethren and other pietistic bands kept the task of mission alive. The religious and moral decline in eighteenth century Britain has been oft described. Sermons were rational treatises on ethics, received as fashionable, but little affecting the morals and lives of the people. A. W. Boehme (pupil of Francke), William Law (A Serious Call to a Holy and Devout Life, 1729), and Northampton's Philip Doddridge (d. 1751) belonged to a minority concerned for revival and missions. Then came the dawning of a new day of personal experiences of salvation, powerful preaching and moral transformation as epitomized in John Wesley (1703-1791) and his brother Charles, and George Whitefield (1714-1770). This Awakening resulted in the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, Methodism and new life for churches in Scotland and Wales. Charles Simeon at Cambridge and



Joseph White at Oxford were soon challenging young men to overt mission action. The outstanding leader of the Great Awakening in America was Jonathan Edwards (d. 1758), who reinterpreted Calvin (perhaps more accurately than the post-reformers), and asserted the need of evangelical conversion. His student, Samuel Hopkins (d. 1803), further modified "New England Theology" appealing to Christians to act out of "disinterested benevolence" for the conversion of all men and for the greater glory of God. The American Revolution (1776-1783, and the formation of American church structures) was followed by a Second Awakening in 1790 which began in Reformed, Presbyterian and Congregational bodies, but also provided great growth for Baptist, Methodist and Disciples groups. These revivals resulted in missionary activity; first to the Indians of the nation and then to the lands abroad. During these events, there was much interaction: Cotton Mather (d. 1728) corresponded with Francke of Halle and missionaries in South India; Whitefield and the Wesleys enthused the Americans; and Moravian visits enlivened England. The whole field of Protestantism was being prepared and seeded on the eve of the nineteenth century that it might produce that fruit known as the Evangelical Missionary Movement.<sup>1</sup>

The actual features or characteristics of the Evangelical Movement are more dynamic than "definable", better captioned by "spirit" than by "statement". The movement professed to emanate from the conviction, spirit and activity of early biblical or evangelical Christianity. It claimed continuity with the New Testament and the Reformation. Yet so did "Orthodoxy" and later nineteenth century "Liberalism"! How then are they to be distinguished? Both the Evangelical and Liberal movements in theology were reactions against what they called "Orthodoxy", the mere preservation or conserving of "tradition". This is

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<sup>1</sup>For a fuller treatment of the Awakenings cf. Warneck, Outline, 53-73; Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 66ff; and K. S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (London, n.d.), pp. 1001-1063, Expansion of Christianity, IV, 78ff, and Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (New York, 1958), I, 189ff.

distinguished from true "Orthodoxy" i.e. sound doctrine and practice of the Christian faith as formulated in the great church creeds and confessions. The Evangelicals accepted the biblical-creedal aspect of "Orthodoxy" and the side of Pietism stressing need for the personal experience of salvation and compassion for the lost.<sup>1</sup> Later the Liberals drew upon the rational-philosophical aspect of "Orthodoxy" (and Kant) and upon the Pietistic emphasis upon human experience and human needs. (e.g. F. D. Schleiermacher, d. 1834). Still later it was coupled to a receptiveness to new scientific ideas, varied proposals for social-religious reforms and a willingness to discard large parts of traditional belief as unessential.<sup>2</sup> While every description has certain limitations, these may help highlight the contributions and eventual clash of these streams in theology and missions. For the moment, the positive features of the Evangelical Movement are to be considered. While it is difficult to cover all the strands of the revival movements, certain common characteristics stand out. These reflect a burning seriousness with regard to the ultimate issues of life and the biblical message. There was the shattering awareness that the salvation of sinful man was solely by the Grace of God in Christ. There was a consciousness of the Holy Spirit, of God's work in man's heart and the accompanying experience. While the emphasis on "feeling" and "enthusiasm" stood in contrast to the cold rationalism of the day, it was not unduly

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<sup>1</sup>Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines Evangelical as: "pertaining to or designating any school of Protestants which holds that the essence of the gospel consists mainly in its doctrines of man's sinful condition and the need of salvation, the revelation of God's grace in Christ, the necessity of spiritual renovation, and participation in the experience of spiritual renovation". The Oxford Shorter Dictionary adds: "applied to those Protestants who hold that the essence of the Gospel consists in the doctrine of salvation by faith in the atoning death of Christ, and deny the saving efficacy of either good works or the sacraments (1791)".

<sup>2</sup>Webster defines Liberalism as: "a movement in contemporary Protestantism, emphasizing intellectual liberty and the spiritual and ethical content of Christianity". The Oxford Shorter Dictionary notes that whereas the term "Liberal" originally referred to those "arts or sciences" worthy of a free man, in the 16th and 17th centuries it meant "licentious". In the 19th century it was revived to mean those "open to the reception of new ideas or proposals of reform" and in theology applied to "those who consider large parts of the traditional system of belief unessential".

excessive. It was joyfully affirmed that Christ died for all and that men everywhere could respond in faith and experience new life in Him. The aim was soteriological; whether in Whitefield or Edwards' description of judgement or Wesley's hymn, "Jesus, lover of my soul". The Wesleys combined the universalism of grace with the indispensability of faith, while Whitefield and Edwards were more impressed by God's sovereignty and the grace which presses in upon man. There was also in these men and the European pietists, a compassion for "souls" and an urgency to reach and preach to those still outside the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Eschatological hopes stimulated all the leaders of the movement and some of their followers even held to beliefs regarding establishing the Millennium on earth. These features were reflected in the motives for mission set forth by the leaders of the revivals.<sup>2</sup>

The great "Break-through" in Evangelical Missions came in the period, 1792 to 1815. The great symbol of the beginning of modern Protestant mission is William Carey. Carey's challenge found reception and growth in hearts which had been warmed by the Evangelical Awakenings. Carey in 1786 proposed that a conference of Baptist ministers discuss: "Whether the commandment given to the Apostles to teach all nations in all the world must not be recognized as binding on us also, since the great promise still follows it?" only to be squelched! Yet his thoughts found expression in what was to become the "charter of modern missions", An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens. This document was soon followed by the formation of an agency for the practical implementation of the missionary ideal. At Carey's suggestion, "The Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen" formed in 1792. Carey's first letter from India stimulated the interdenominational London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) to take shape in 1795. This was followed by

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<sup>1</sup>To say they had a passion for souls is not to imply they neglected education or social reform, e.g. cf. activities of Robert Raikes, John Howard, Z. Macaulay, W. Wilberforce, Hannah More, etc.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 78-105.



the Scottish (Edinburgh) and Glasgow Missionary Societies (1796), the Anglican orientated Church Missionary Society (1799), the Religious Tract Society (1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1817-18). The continent witnessed the emergence of the Netherlands Missionary Society (1797), the Basel School (1815) and Society (1822), and other societies in Denmark (1821), France (1822), Berlin (1824), Sweden (1835) and Norway (1842). In America, Congregational, Reformed and Presbyterian Churches joined to form the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1812). Then American Baptists (1814), Methodists and Episcopalians (1821) joined in the tremendous surge to send witnesses to the uttermost parts of the earth. Dynamic cores in almost every church acted voluntarily to provide funds and recruits until whole churches assumed once more their role as "agencies" of Christ's mission.<sup>1</sup>

The motives and means for implementing the Protestant concept of "mission" deserve much attention for they introduce viable new elements into the history of Christian missions. The complex subject of missionary motivation has been given thorough investigation. The primary motives for early nineteenth century missions included obedience to Christ's Command, to proclaim salvation to man in need (soteriological), to build the Church (ecclesiological), to prepare for the coming King and His Kingdom (eschatological), and for the Glory of God (theocentric). Of less importance were romantic, ascetic, political motives; the motive of debt; or the desire to share humanitarian-cultural enlightenment. Evangelicals didn't spend time analyzing and separating the primary motives, for they felt compelled towards "action". Again these motives and the understanding of them would be modified over the decades. Periodically these empirical, human motives in their

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<sup>1</sup>For fuller coverage on Carey and the foundation and growth of the Societies cf. Warneck, Outline, pp. 74-144; George Smith, The Life of William Carey (London, 1885); W. R. Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations (New York, 1952), pp. 5ff; Vanden Berg, Constrained, pp. 106ff; and J. P. Wheeler, The Theological Justification of the Great Missionary Awakening of the Late Eighteenth Century with Special Reference to William Carey (unpublished dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1959).

historical setting would need be re-confronted with the Bible, made subservient to the one dominant "constraining love" of God in Christ.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, Protestant missions found they could be independent of the commercial and colonial interests of their home lands, often becoming the sharpest critics of the same. This is largely due to the credit of the mission societies, voluntary societies of consecrated individuals who could act where the institutional Church could not or would not. These societies became indeed the conscience of the Church, challenging the whole Church "to be" a people engaged in the Lord's work in the world.

It has been observed how the Churches of the Reformation underwent an amazing transformation in the three hundred years between medieval and modern times, 1500-1800. Under the renewing power of God's Spirit and the scholarly, serious effort of dedicated Christians, the Church was shaking herself free from the old shackles of prejudice and traditionalism. Again she was being filled with the joyful News of salvation through Christ. First, there had been a recovery of the Word of Grace. Second, there had been a rediscovery of the World. Third, many within her borders had recaptured the motive and spirit of "Mission". Still the long neglected Muslim world spread out before her largely unchartered and untouched. It remained unknown how this vast realm of peoples should be approached or when this great sector of humanity would acknowledge the redemptive reign of God in Christ. This was the challenge of faith before that great host who would go to India and the Near East to witness in their Master's Name. In the next three chapters, it will be seen how this dynamic vitality in earthen vessels was poured out upon the world in the Mission of Christ; especially observing the methods applied, the factors encountered, and the maturation that evolved with experience in the Mission to Muslims.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Vanden Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 144-213, a superb examination of nineteenth century mission motives; E.S.P. Heavenor, The Eschatological Motive for World Mission in the New Testament (unpublished dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1962); Ross Kinsler, Love as a Motive for Mission: an approach to the Biblical Theology of Mission (unpublished dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1962); and H. Margull, "The Awakening of Protestant Missions," in History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Missions, pp. 142ff.

Chapter II. ANGLICAN AND REFORMED MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS IN INDIA, 1800-1910:  
A STUDY IN METHODS

THE OPENING OF INDIA TO PROTESTANT MISSIONS

Removal of Political, Commercial and Ecclesiastical Barriers

India was destined to be the first country of the East open to the modern missionary movement. After centuries of isolation, Islam and Christianity came into direct encounter again.<sup>1</sup> Three formidable barriers, however, faced Missions to Muslims in India: Indian Muslim rulers, the vested interests of the British East India Company and the anti-mission sentiments of many in the British State and Churches.

In 1800, Islamic rule prevailed in much of North India. Entering with the Arab invasions of Sindh (A.D. 712), Muslim influence extended to the key centers of Lahore and Delhi by the twelfth century, gaining its peak under the Mughal emperors Akbar to Aurangzeb (1556-1707). Other enclaves of Muslims settled in Hyderabad State, the United Provinces, Bengal and even South India. But the encroachment of European power gradually lowered these political barriers to Christian missions. While the Portuguese of the sixteenth century had been confined to Goa and Ceylon, they daringly dispatched a delegation to Akbar's court in Lahore. The Dutch settled irregularly at Chinsura (nr. Calcutta) and later acquired Ceylon. Tranquebar and Serampore were occupied by Danes. French strength in the Southeast centered around Pondicherry. But it was the ascending British East India Company that attained the strategic ports of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and after eliminating the only serious rival, France, in the Battle of Plassy (1757), was poised

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<sup>1</sup> Approximately one-quarter of the world's Muslim population (approximately one-fifth of the population of India) lived in nineteenth century India.



to assume control over the bulk of the sub-continent. During a century of expansion, British rule reached northwards. With the Mutiny of 1857, India's government was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown (1858). Much of the terrain remained unsettled. Resisting military and cultural penetration, the fierce independent Afghans in the Northwest yielded only to treaty relationships. Even so, British control was far from synonymous with an openness to Christian missions.

To protect its commercial interests, the British East India Company catered to the religions of the lands. Not only did it follow the pattern of former rulers by supporting native shrines and festivals with tax money, but it curtailed Christian "proselytism" lest the enmities of Hindus and Muslims be aroused. These restrictive practices kept mission work at a minimum. Concerned English Christians (S.P.C.K.) of the eighteenth century circumvented the Company's obstructing "neutrality" only via gifts to the Danish-German Mission in South India. In spite of the respected work of Ziegenbalg, Schultz, Schwartz and Kiernander, the Company refused passage on its ships and entrance to its territories to missionaries. Only after a heated contest, did Evangelicals secure a renewed Company Charter (1813) which permitted mission activity and the establishment of an Anglican bishopric. Greater liberty in this direction came with the Charter of 1833. These acts of Parliament were preceded by a chain of dramatic events: challenges for missions by Charles Simeon and other Evangelical preachers; the scheme for a Bengal mission (1786) set forth by Charles Grant, William Chambers, George Udny and other Evangelicals within the Company;<sup>1</sup> the books, speeches in Parliament and activity of William Wilberforce; the initiative of the Baptist Missionary Society and Carey; the

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<sup>1</sup>Charles Grant's pamphlet, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain" influenced public opinion and the work of the Church Missionary Society. Cf. Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (4 vols., London, 1899-1916), I, 54f.

stirring petitions of the Scottish Societies and Church; and the requests of "mission-minded" Chaplains such as David Brown and Henry Martyn which aroused British interest.<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered that resistance to missions was often as fierce within British Churches as in the State or Company. Churches afflicted by a preoccupation with rationalism, deism, and morality would find in the Evangelical movement and mission societies stimulation to renewed faith and action during the crucial years, 1786-1813.<sup>2</sup> The Mission Societies must be credited in large measure for the transformation of the Church from a barrier to an agent of mission; the development of a truly Christian supported program;<sup>3</sup> and the pioneering of most fields. The birth of the Mission Societies, voluntary groups of like-minded Christians dedicated to the work and its support by personal gifts, gave Protestant missions a new independence from external controls.

#### Role of the Serampore Trio

The famous "Serampore Trio" of the Baptist Missionary Society played an important part in inaugurating mission work in British ruled India. Aroused to his spiritual responsibilities by Thomas Scott (later C.M.S. secretary) and by Cook's voyages to the heathen world, William Carey (1761-1834) tried to interest

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<sup>1</sup>For fuller introduction cf. Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 65ff; Neill, History of Christian Missions, pp. 261ff; Gustav Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time (Trans. George Robson, Edinburgh, 1901), pp. 213ff; J. Richter, Indische Missionsgeschichte (2. Aufl., Gutersloh, 1924); and G. B. Firth, An Introduction to Indian Church History, (Madras, 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Eugene Stock carefully documents the year of 1786 as the point when Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, David Brown, Charles Grant, William Carey, the Eclectic Society (seed of the C.M.S.), and others set into motion forces which not only produced the great Acts of Parliament but launched the modern missionary movement. Cf. Stock, History of C.M.S., I, 57f.

<sup>3</sup>Even the proposals of Grant for evangelizing India followed the "Dutch Method of Missions", i.e. government or company financed programs.

his brethren in the Lord's last command (1786). At last his sermons and pamphlet resulted in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792) and his own departure for Calcutta (1793).<sup>1</sup> His trials with his surgeon-colleague John Thomas, work in the indigo factory, opposition from the East India Company, and his pioneer mission ventures have oft been narrated. The arrival of Ward, Marshman and other Baptists (1799 onwards) bolstered the work even though Company prohibitions and pressures were severe from 1806 to 1813. The trained printer and editor, William Ward (1764-1823) and schoolmaster-author Joshua Marshman (1768-1837) set forth literature and proposals influencing many future missionaries.<sup>2</sup> The grand vision of this Trio included the Muslims of North India as well as the peoples of Burma, China and Japan. Their program called for:

"(1) the widespread preaching of the Gospel by every possible method; (2) the support of the preaching by the distribution of the Bible in the languages of the country; (3) the establishment at the earliest possible moment of a Church; (4) a profound study of the background and thought of the non-Christian peoples; (5) the training at the earliest possible moment of an indigenous ministry."<sup>3</sup>

Their achievements included these and more. Translations, schools and College, stations and churches, an outgoing evangelism, all these captured the imagination of many.<sup>4</sup> As will be observed, many evangelical Anglicans also joined in this

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<sup>1</sup>His pamphlet, Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen (1792) and his sermon on Isaiah 54:2-3 at Nottingham under the title, "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God" (May, 1792) are stirring documents.

<sup>2</sup>In addition to various translations of the Bible, grammars, etc. Marshman wrote Thoughts on Propagating Christianity More Effectually among the Heathen (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1827); "Hints relative to Native Schools, together with an Outline of an Institution for their Extension and Management" (1815) which was to influence the pattern of village mission schools; and founded the newspaper, Mirror of News and mission periodical, Friend of India (1818).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Neill, History of Christian Missions, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup>For more details cf. John C. Marshman, The Life and Labors of Carey, Marshman and Ward the Serampore Missionaries (London, 1864); The Story of Serampore and its College (Serampore, 1961); and B. H. Bradley, Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume (London, 1876) pp. 12ff.



crusade to create a conscience, a public opinion favorable to missions within the British Isles.

### Major Developments in Missions to Muslims

How is one to tackle the massive mission program in India? Certain dominant strands in Anglican and Reformed missions to India's Muslims point to the development of various mission methods. By focusing upon these, one can gain insights into what was occurring. The following schema attempts to do justice both to the major developments and their historical context. First, one observes the development of an apologetic approach from 1800 onwards.<sup>1</sup> At first it appears to blend pietism, Protestant rationalism and elements of medieval polemics, but after 1850 it modifies into what can be called an evangelical apologetic for Muslims. This is best examined under Anglican activity. Second, a new educational approach to Muslims and others is formulated by Alexander Duff and his successors after 1830. Scottish Presbyterians afford the choice data for this study. Third, an interdenominational "Service-centered" approach gains prominence with improved medical techniques in the 1860s. Fourth, while many groups realized that an indigenous

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<sup>1</sup>In this study both "apology" and "apologetics" will be used in the broader sense of an appealing and reasonable defense and presentation of the Christian Gospel. Among nineteenth century evangelical missionaries it meant not only a "defense" but a "communication" of the Gospel. The Tokyo Conference of W.S.C.F. (1907) defined "apologetics" as the attempt to remove the hindrances to the acceptance of the Christian faith by means of a reasoned intellectual discussion of existing problems. Webster's New International Dictionary (2nd. ed.) defines "apology" as "something said or written in defense or justification of what appears to others to be wrong or of what may be liable to disapprobation" and "apologetics" as "systematic argumentative discourse in defense esp. of the divine origin and authority of Christianity". This is more satisfactory than the neat academic distinction made by A. Richardson, Christian Apologetics (1947), pp. 19f. ("Apologetics, as distinct from apology, is the study of ways and means of defending Christian truth....Hence, also apologetics is primarily a study undertaken by Christians for Christians; and in this respect it is to be distinguished from the task of apology, since an apology is addressed to non-Christians.") Among missionaries the broader definition prevailed, e.g. Christian apologetic to Muslims.

"church-orientated" approach was most desirable, the American Presbyterians seem to have most successfully directed their multi-phased program towards its achievement. Fifth, the phenomena of missionary conferences united emerging indigenous churches and Mission bodies after 1860 to shape what may be described as an embryonic ecumenical approach to Muslims.

It would be possible to chart the emergence and development of these parallel approaches (or the combinations of such). Beginning at various points in the nineteenth century, they continue into the twentieth century where they sometimes clash because they unnecessarily become associated almost exclusively with one type of theology or mission theory. One must take caution however not to stereotype any denomination or its mission program. All missions participated in the various forms of activity (e.g. evangelism-apologetics, education, medicine and service, and church building) and contributed to the same. The author has selected the distinctive contributions of each to a specific area (e.g. Anglicans to apologetics, Scots to education, etc.) because these are most clearly documented by these parties. While it is legitimate to claim their's was the major contribution, it was by no means exclusive. Likewise one must not surmise that because a distinctly "service-centered" approach did not appear until the 1860s that therefore earlier missionaries lacked concern for the physical needs of man, etc. The social humanitarian efforts of Carey and Martyn disprove that. What can be ascertained is that this now became a distinctive medium or channel by which the objectives of "mission" were to be achieved. If one holds the above warnings in mind, then a focusing upon these major developments in Anglican and Reformed missions to Muslims in India can prove helpful.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Sargent, *The Life of the Rev. T. T. Thomson* (New York, 1862).

THE ANGLICAN CONTRIBUTION: WITH REFERENCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF AN APOLOGETIC APPROACH TO MUSLIMS

Pioneer Anglican Missionary Work Among Muslims: From Medieval to Modern Apologetics

Henry Martyn and the Missionary Chaplains

In the dark days between 1786 and 1813, several chaplains manifested the dynamic of the Evangelical Awakening vitally affecting the process of change in the Church of England. Fuller provision for Protestant Company chaplains in the Charter of 1793 had been achieved by the intercession of Grant and Wilberforce. Several of these men, strongly influenced by Charles Simeon of Cambridge, e.g. Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Corrie and Thomason, gave distinguished service in India. Known as the "missionary chaplains", they stimulated missions and the establishment of the Church in that land. David Brown (Calcutta, 1787-1812) spurred spiritual renewal in the European community and garrison; supervised an orphanage, a school for Hindus and Fort William College; and contributed to the birth of the C.M.S.<sup>1</sup> Claudius Buchanan (India, 1797-1809) contributed to the founding of the Anglican episcopate for India (1814) by his activity and noted Memoir.<sup>2</sup> Reaching India in 1808, Thomas T. Thomason devoted his energies to the evangelization of its peoples.<sup>3</sup> Daniel Corrie served India over thirty years becoming the first bishop

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. E. Chatterton, A History of the Church of England in India since the Early Days of the East India Company (London, 1924), pp. 109-113 and Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown with a Selection of his Sermons, preached at Calcutta (London, 1816).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. esp. Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India. Also of interest are Claudius Buchanan, Christian Researches in Asia (London, 1812) and Hugh Pearson, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D. (Boston, 1818).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. J. Sargent, The Life of the Rev. T. T. Thomason (New York, 1843).





of Madras (1835).<sup>1</sup> Mutually strengthened in fellowship with the Baptist missionaries and their colleague, Henry Martyn, these men helped to change attitudes in the Church of England and in Parliament. Coupled with that influence radiating from Cambridge and Oxford, this would work for the transformation of the Church and many lands.

Henry Martyn (1781-1812), a famous Evangelical Chaplain, was one of the first Protestant workers to direct his energies almost entirely to Muslims. Reared in the midst of England's Evangelical Awakening and well qualified for mission work, he accepted the better-paid chaplaincy of the East India Company when family obligations blocked his plan to serve under the C.M.S. Arriving at Calcutta (1806) after a strenuous voyage, he wrote in his diary: "now let me burn out for God". In the six years between his arrival and his death at Tokat, Asia Minor (October 16, 1812), he did just that. Although his life was snuffed out at thirty-two by unceasing toil and the exhaustion of disease, climate and travel, he is remembered as the first modern missionary to Islam.<sup>2</sup> Contributions in five areas account for this high estimate.

His vision concerning the needs of the Muslim world and the coming Kingdom of God comprises one contribution. His attention almost immediately captured by the Muslim community, he perceived that missions to them would not be achieved

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Memoirs of the Right Rev. Daniel Corrie, LL.D., First Bishop of Madras. Compiled chiefly from his own Letters and Journals, by his Brothers (London, 1847).

<sup>2</sup>Source materials include: Henry Martyn, Twenty Sermons (London, 1822) and Five Sermons never before published edited by G. T. Fox (London, 1862); Translations of Martyn's three Persian tracts in Samuel Lee, Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism (Cambridge, 1824); S. Wilberforce (editor) Journals and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. (2 vols., London, 1837); the early standard biography of John Sargent, Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn (London, 1820, 16th ed. 1848); the comprehensive biography of George Smith, Henry Martyn (London, 1892); and the popular account of Constance E. Padwick, Henry Martyn, Confessor of the Faith (London, 1922). Good insights are found in Mrs. W. A. Stewart, "Henry Martyn and Serampore," and John Elder, "Henry Martyn in Iran," pages 5-22 and 23-33 respectively in The Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, 57 (April, 1964).

merely by knowledge and improved technique.<sup>1</sup> Reconciliation calls for costly personal endeavor! His burden for Muslims never led to despair, because he believed that, the new age of technology and Western expansion, with all its difficulties, was somehow related to a fuller realization of the Kingdom. The lay-opinion and activity of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood, Sir James Mackintosh and others strengthened this conviction.<sup>2</sup> Human dedication, he felt, could become the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit. Martyn's pietistic consciousness of sin and uselessness was balanced by consecrated exertion. His introspective sensitivity was linked to an appreciation for fellowship and cooperation by all Christians in mission. In the five months at Serampore with the Baptist Trio and chaplains Brown and Corrie, he helped forge a team spirit for evangelization.<sup>3</sup>

Second, Martyn claimed that effective preaching and education among Muslims and others could be accomplished. As chaplain he was responsible for the English military and civilian communities of Dinapore, near Patna (1807-1809) and Cawnpore (1809-1810). In spite of continual sickness, he re-established the Scriptures, prayer and worship in small witnessing circles amidst these largely indifferent numbers. Preaching was not an end in itself, but the means for arousing the existing Christian community to the duty of mission: "The evangelization of India is

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Diary entries for July 22, 25, 1806 quoted in Smith, Martyn, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>Martyn and others considered the expansion of European culture as a preparatory step to the spread of the Gospel. Cf. Smith, Martyn, p. 330. This is not to be confused with a blind identification of Christianity and Western civilization. They were aware that evangelization, the communication of the Gospel was in some way entangled in the surging tides of world cultures. Compare this with the idea that cultural change, even revolution and secularization may precede serious consideration of Christ's claims regarding the ultimate issues of life. Cf. M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution (London, 1966). Excellent background material may be found in Martha Sherwood and Henry Sherwood, The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851). From the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood, edited by F. J. H. Darton (London, 1910).

<sup>3</sup>Smith, Martyn, pp. 218f.

<sup>4</sup>Five Sermons edited by G. T. Fox, pp. 1v ff.

a more important object than preaching to the European inhabitants of Calcutta."<sup>1</sup> In sermons at Calcutta in 1810, he calls for a consistent obedience to the biblical Commission of Christ and urges all Christians in India to launch a program of Scripture distribution in conjunction with the British and Foreign Bible Society.<sup>2</sup> Although Warren Hastings (1732-1818), governor-general, had once dismissed a chaplain for distributing tracts (reportedly saying, "the man who could be rash enough to speak of Christ to the natives would let off a pistol in a powder magazine"), Martyn calls for the commencement of missions to Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

While occasionally preaching to Indians, Martyn considered education as a prime means to penetrate Hindu discontent and Muslim sulkiness. He set up schools at Dinapore, Bankipore, Patna and Cawnpore under native schoolmasters, often Muslims, who taught pupils to read and write. Selected O.T. portions and Christian books (e.g. Christian Book Society) were introduced but no mention was made of proselytism. Justifying his work among Indians by a clause in an old Company charter (perhaps by William III), he saw elementary teaching as a preliminary step towards the study of the Bible and possible conversion.

Third, Martyn contributed to the translation and publication of the Scriptures and Christian literature. The central role and authority of the Bible was reasserted. Like the Dutch in Ceylon and the Danes in South India, the Serampore Trio initiated a phenomenal program for the translation and publication of the Scriptures. Anglican chaplains, Bible Societies and others joined in. Martyn, the Cambridge scholar trained in philology, Hindustani (Urdu), Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, brought needed skills to this work. He made critical translations of the New Testament into Urdu, Persian and Arabic. The Urdu translation completed

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Sermons 19 and 20 in Twenty Sermons (London, 1822), pp. 391ff.

<sup>3</sup> Five Sermons edited by G. T. Fox, pp. iv ff.



with the assistance of Sabat, a Muslim convert (1807-1810) saw nearly a score of editions between 1810 and 1847. The Persian version begun at Cawnpore (1809) and revised in Persia (1811-12) was published at St. Petersburg (1815), Calcutta (1816), London (Lee editions, 1827, 1837) and Edinburgh (1846). In addition to a preliminary Arabic draft of the N.T. (superseded by the Smith-Van Dyck version, Beirut, 1837-1865), Martyn translated the Book of Genesis and the Book of Common Prayer into Urdu. He considered the press as a vital instrument in missions and expected an explosive reaction to the printed and preached Word of God.<sup>1</sup> This leads to his significant contributions to Christian apologetics and personal evangelism.

Fourth, Martyn's involvement in public discussions with Islam resulted in the beginning of a nineteenth century "apologetic approach". In spite of the sensitive personality of Martyn, he was inevitably drawn into the so-called "controversy with Islam". In present day terminology it might be called "public debate", "discussions", or "embryonic dialogue", but "controversy" was the more accurate description. This method often led to aggressive verbal attack, the consideration of the other as the "pundit" or "opponent" to be defeated in the public arena with the audience acting as the judges and score-keepers. In Martyn's case, however, it must be noted that such intensity and bitterness were avoided. Nevertheless he inherited something from his predecessors, John of Damascus, Raymond Lull and Jerome Xavier. William Carey advised Corrie and Martyn in December 1808 "not to argue with the Mahomedan doctors."<sup>2</sup> Why then was Martyn drawn into these debates? The answer is that it was the accepted pattern for two who differed in religious conviction to so treat the topic at hand. Hindus and Muslims accepted this practice of rational debate. Martyn records how Brahmin Ram Mohan Roy disputed with him

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<sup>1</sup>Smith, Martyn, pp. 240ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Wilberforce, Journal...H. Martyn, II, pp. 232f.

eloquently concerning the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> At Dinapore and Patna, centers of aggressive Islam, Martyn was forced to study the Quran and works such as Maracci's Refutation. At Cawnpore, he met the Shi'ahs of Lucknow. He had a natural revulsion to argument and attack on another religion. He criticized Marshman's polemical approach to Hinduism at the festivals. Nevertheless one could not avoid a defense of one's faith. For a Hindu or Muslim, the failure to make an "apology" was tantamount to a denial of one's faith. Perhaps a sharp vocal confrontation was unavoidable after ages of separation. Constance Padwick writes:

"As the first meeting after centuries...two gigantic spiritual forces all unguarded and unaware, coming together with a first<sup>2</sup> rude clash, unsoftened by intercourse and interaction of thought...."

Because of Martyn's attractive personality and "holy life", he was soon much sought after by Muslim scholars.

In Persia (1811-1812), he was incessantly pursued by Muslim visitors and there was an extraordinary stir about religion in the city of Shiraz.<sup>3</sup> He welcomed these singly or in small groups and shared with each some knowledge of the Gospel in spite of his pressing translation work and sickness. Soon however, he was drawn into "public discussions". The first was held in the house of the "Moojtahid of Shiraz" (July 15, 1811). This leader, who had direct access to the Shah and whose house was "sanctuary", had been aroused by Martyn's teachings concerning the person and work of Jesus. The idea of the meeting was to examine the evidences and authorities concerning God, but this was replaced by the host's evening-long lecture. Public discussion was halted ten days later as the Shi'ah doctors had Mirza Ibrahim, a leading mullah, prepare a written "defense of Islam" to end the spirit of inquiry. Any future "argumentation" was to be "on paper".

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<sup>1</sup>Smith, Martyn, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>Padwick, Martyn, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. diary entries in June and July, 1811 quoted in Smith, Martyn, pp. 362ff.

Earlier at Dinapore, Martyn had questioned the validity of the "controversial approach":

"April 28, 1807...For myself, I never enter into a dispute with them without having reason to reflect that I mar the work for which I contend by the spirit in which I do it....They mean to have down their leading man from Benares to convince me of the truth of their religion. I wish a spirit of inquiry may be excited, but I lay not much stress upon clear arguments; the work of God is seldom wrought in this way. To preach the Gospel, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, is a better way to win souls."<sup>1</sup>

In the months following he found, like many others, that he could neither avoid nor completely accept this approach. He prepared for an encounter with a great Muslim Imam but with little hope "of doing him or any of them good in this way". He spends hours with inquirers Mirza and Morrad Ali presenting the unique role of Christ, His eternal Kingdom and the way of salvation as well as the objections against Islam, its laws, defects, Muhammad's authority and miracles. He finds little joy in seeing them painfully proceed from that religion to almost unbelief.<sup>2</sup> He observed the dangers of this approach in Sabat, who still preferred rational argument and clever logic, to the point of antagonism, over against the spirit of a new life in Christ.<sup>3</sup> After his experience in Persia, Martyn was even more assured of the failings of "rational controversy". "I have now lost all hope of ever convincing Mohammedans by argument....I know not what to do but to pray for them."<sup>4</sup> Martyn's words ring with the dilemma of a man torn between "human means" and "divine objectives";

"Sept. 8, 1811...I do use the means in a certain way, but frigid reasoning with men of perverse minds seldom brings men to Christ. However, as they require it, I reason and accordingly challenged them to prove the Divine mission of their prophet. In consequence of this, a learned Arabic treatise was written by one who was considered as the most able man, and put into my hands; copies of it were also given to the college and the learned. The writer of it said that if I could give satisfactory answer to it he would become a Christian, and at all events would make my reply as public as I pleased. I did answer

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 232f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 233ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 229, et passim.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 379.



it and after some faint efforts on his part to defend himself, he acknowledged the force of my arguments, but was afraid to let them be generally known. He then began to inquire about the Gospel, but was not satisfied with my statement. He required me to prove from the very beginning the Divine mission of Moses, as well as of Christ; the truth of the Scriptures, etc. With very little hope that any good will come of it, I am now employed in drawing out the evidences of the truth; but oh! that I could converse and reason, and plead with power from on high. How powerless are the best-directed arguments till the Holy Ghost renders them effectual."<sup>1</sup>

Martyn could not however extricate himself from his human circumstances and so he seeks to shape an acceptable Christian apologetic.

The best of Martyn's apologetics are set forth in three Persian Tracts. Although he considered Islam and Sufi mysticism as burdened with man's sinfulness and vanity and its founder ensnared in the web of delusion, these tracts show considerable improvement over medieval apologetics. Their biblical content and sensitivity to the Muslim would frequently be replaced by a more rationalistic spirit in Martyn's immediate successors, Abdul Masih, S. Lee and K. Pfander. These tracts deserve special attention.<sup>2</sup>

Fifth, Martyn's "personal evangelism" among Muslims is a new feature of nineteenth century missions. Martyn was at his best when quietly sharing his "experiences in Christ" with interested Muslims in a small circle. These intimate talks produced mutually responsive notes:

"A new impression was left on my mind; namely that these men are not fools and that all ingenuity and clearness of reasoning are not confined to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 363ff.

<sup>2</sup>S. Lee in Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism Translated and Explained (Cambridge, 1824) includes the Tract of Mirza Ibrahim defending Islam (pp. 1-39); an "Extract from the Tract of Aga Acber on the Miracles of Mohammed" (pp. 40-69); the three tracts or "Replies" of Martyn to Mirza (pp. 80-160); a later "Rejoinder of Mohammed Ruza of Hamadam in Reply to Mr. Martyn" (pp. 161-450); and Lee's own contribution to the continuing "controversy" (pp. 451-584). Summary usage of these materials are found in William Muir, "The Mahomedan Controversy," The Calcutta Review, 4 (1845), pp. 418-76 and George Smith, Martyn, pp. 400-404. An examination of Martyn's three Tracts is found in Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup>Entry of September 20, 1811, Ibid., p. 413.

England and Europe....I find that seriousness in the declaration of the truths of the Gospel is likely to have more power than the clearest argument conveyed in a trifling spirit."<sup>1</sup>

He found that "A tender concern manifested for their souls is certainly new to them, and seemingly produces corresponding seriousness in their minds."<sup>2</sup> It did leave a lasting mark on Sheikh Salih (baptized Abdul Masih) and others in India. By a careful study of these semi-private talks with Persians Mirza Ibrahim, Aga Baba (brother and disciple of Aga Akbar), Mirza Seyd Ali, and Jaffir Ali Khan, one can gain several insights into Martyn's "personal approach". (1) With the serious inquirer, Martyn shared his own religious experience of forgiveness through Christ and new peace, etc.<sup>3</sup> (2) Martyn's sensitive nature permitted him to appreciate the best found in his Muslim acquaintances and to ascribe such to the activity of God.<sup>4</sup> (3) His message centered upon the grace of God, the person of Christ and progressive sanctification in the Holy Spirit.<sup>5</sup> Whether talking with Sufi or Sunni, he spoke of Christ as the key to the "Creator-Creature" relationship. (4) Martyn would direct the inquirer to the study of the Scriptures themselves.<sup>6</sup> (5) He saw the need for the Christian to remain a supporting friend while the Muslim inquirer passed through the throes of critical contemplation and decision.<sup>7</sup> (6) He saw the value of creating a domestic and community atmosphere favorable to the inquirer. Shiraz was more hospitable than he had expected.<sup>8</sup> (7) He realized that

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<sup>1</sup>Sargent, Martyn, pp. 158, 192.

<sup>2</sup>Smith, Martyn, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. diary entry of May 11, 1812, Ibid., pp. 461ff.

<sup>4</sup>Entry of July 26, 1811, Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>5</sup>Entry of August 29, 1811, Ibid., p. 409.

<sup>6</sup>Entry of September 7-11, 1811, Ibid., p. 380.

<sup>7</sup>Entries of September 12-15, 1811 and January 24, 1812, Ibid., pp. 402, 382.

<sup>8</sup>Entry of September 20, 1811, Ibid., p. 413.

one must leave room for the working of the Spirit of God and the interaction between the inquirer and his own society, in the transformation of individuals and societies: "Synthesis is the work of God alone."

In short Martyn understood that the hidden dynamics of personality are involved in the Communication of the Christian Message. Martyn's own personality, speech and self-revealing journal made an impact not only upon Sheikh Salih, the learned teacher of Lucknow but upon Corrie, Thomason, Wilberforce, Grant and a multitude of people in the years to follow. His intense devotion, intellectual and linguistic gifts, natural enthusiasm and keen ability made him something of an ideal for those dedicating themselves to Christ and work in the Muslim world. More important, he pointed out that the problems of communication are rooted in the communicator as well as the receiver. He raised the questions of language, culture, religious background, when he sought to convey the idea of Incarnation:

"March 22, 1812. These two days I have been thinking from morning to night about the Incarnation; considering if I could represent it in such a way as to obviate in any degree the prejudices of the Mohammedans; not that I wish to make it appear altogether agreeable to reason, but I wanted to give a consistent account of the nature and uses of this doctrine, as they are found in the different parts of Holy Scriptures. One thing implied another to such an extent that I thought necessarily of the nature of life, death, spirit, soul, animal nature, state of separate spirits, personality, the person of Christ, etc., that I was quite worn out with fruitless thought.... [Martyn then sought to help his questioner comprehend the immensity and mystery of the Incarnation by having the latter describe the "essence of deity"]...After an effort or two he found that every term he used implied our frightful doctrine, namely, personality, locality, etc. This is a thought that is now much in my mind--that it is so ordered that, since men speak of God but through the medium of language, which is all material, nor think of God but through the medium of material objects, they do unwillingly come to God through the Word, and think of God by means of an Incarnation."<sup>1</sup>

Thus Martyn, by his questions and contributions to apologetics and personal evangelism, set the pace for the missionary movement to Muslims.

Church and Mission Activity before 1850.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 387.



Anglican activity in India before 1850 centered about these chaplains, the episcopate, and the mission work of the Church Missionary Society. As a result of the overtures of Buchanan and others, the first Anglican bishop, Thomas F. Middleton (1769-1822) reached Calcutta in 1814. He was annoyed by his limited jurisdiction over the missionaries (mostly Germans) and some of the chaplains.<sup>1</sup> This three-cornered tension between higher clergy, missionaries, and chaplains frequently plagued Anglican work in India. Reginald Heber (1783-1828), second Bishop of Calcutta and famous hymn writer strongly supported all the mission societies and demonstrated an ecumenical spirit far in advance of his age.<sup>2</sup> Further encouragement to Evangelical missions came from Daniel Wilson (1778-1858), fifth bishop of Calcutta (1832-1858) and Metropolitan (1833-1858).<sup>3</sup> Administrators and laymen such as Herbert Edwardes, Robert Montgomery and John Lawrence joined in their support. Although the episcopate did not initiate missions to Muslims, there was growing favor shown to such. This is seen especially in the first bishops at Madras (Corrie), Bombay (Carr) and Lahore (French). Clashes between evangelical missionaries and higher clergy would however continue.

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<sup>1</sup>For his struggles with C.M.S. cf. Stock, History of C.M.S., I, 187, and Charles Le Bas, The Life of the Right Rev. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D., Late Bishop of Calcutta (2 vols., London, 1831).

<sup>2</sup>Heber wrote to Carey and Marshman: "Would to God, my honoured brethren, the time were arrived, when not only in heart and hope, but visibly, we shall be one fold, as well as under one shepherd...if a reunion of our churches could be effected, the harvest of the heathen would ere long be reaped, and the work of the Lord would advance among them with a celerity of which we now have no experience." in Neill, History of Christian Missions, p. 268. Fuller accounts are in R. Heber, Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825, an Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters Written from India (3 vols., London, 2nd edition 1828); The Life of Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, by his Widow (2 vols., London, 1830; condensation Boston, 1861); and George Smith, Bishop Heber (London, 1895).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Josiah Bateman, The Life of Daniel Wilson, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India (Boston, 1860) and Bishop Wilson's Journal, Letters Addressed to his Family, during the first nine years of his Episcopate, edited by his son, Daniel Wilson (London, 1863).

The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799 by Simeon, Grant, John Venn and others who were determined that it should be both Evangelical and "within" the Church. It became a major force in missions to Muslims in North India. The S.P.C.K., S.P.G. and other Anglican groups made more limited contributions. Three C.M.S. Secretaries who greatly influenced this work were Thomas Scott (1799-1802), Josiah Pratt (1802-1823) and Henry Venn (1841-1873). Due to the shortage of candidates, C.M.S. could send no missionaries to North India until 1815. The missionary training school at Bledlow (1806) under Thomas Scott did begin to teach Arabic however in anticipation of Muslim work. The majority of the first C.M.S. missionaries were German, only a few were ordained, and fewer still were university graduates.<sup>1</sup> This must be kept in mind when viewing the various strands of pietism and rationalism, ecumenicalism and sectarianism, pragmatism and clericalism.

Unofficially C.M.S. had begun work via a "Corresponding Committee" in Calcutta (1807) composed of the "Five Chaplains" and George Udny. By 1812 only Corrie and Thomason assisted by Abdul Masih continued the work. The latter ministered from the Word and his stock of medicines to the hundreds he met in his travels. During the sixteen months Corrie and Abduh Masih worked in Agra, they baptised over fifty adult Muslims and Hindus. The arrival of the first four official C.M.S. workers (1815) was thus an occasion of joy. From 1814 to 1824, C.M.S. sent twenty-six men to India of whom fourteen went to the North. These were aided by Abdul Masih and William Bowley (a Eurasian). Corrie meanwhile devised a system (1817) for raising part of the growing budget from European Christians in India.

By 1824, there was conscientious examination of the methods employed to

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<sup>1</sup>Of the first 24 C.M.S. workers 17 were German and 7 English. Of the latter, three were ordained and only one a graduate (William Jowett who went to Malta). Cf. Stock, History of the C.M.S., I, 89ff.

spread the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> The Press of the Bible Society in Calcutta (1810) drew the cooperation of almost all. Schools, begun by Marshman and Martyn, now gained more attention. Regional "Anglo-Vernacular" schools with "Christian subjects" were successfully introduced at Burdwan by Captain Stewart and John Perowne. By 1822 the Gospels were being read in mission schools at garrison towns and mission stations. Alexander Duff would introduce the next step in education (1830). These activities came under the "mission station" with its ordained missionary. The typical compound included dwellings, school, church, and sometimes printing office and "seminary". Stations at Agra, Benares, Chunar, Meerut, Cawnpore, and Krishnagur were maintained by Abdul Masih, Corrie, William Bowley, Greenwood, Fisher, Anund Masih and the lay help of the Sherwoods and Lieutenant Tomkyns. Among the first Eurasian, Muslim and Brahmin converts ordained were Bowley, Abdul Masih and Anund Masih. C.M.S. work at Allahabad, Lucknow and Delhi was later overshadowed by the forces of the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission. In addition to the above, one observes the early forms of Christian service and women's work. Orphanages began at Calcutta (1783), Cawnpore (1821), and Agra (1826). The Agra Relief Society formed to help during the periodical famines. The wives of missionaries (e.g. Mrs. Marshman), clergy (Mrs. Wilson) and civil or military employees (Mrs. Sherwood) began work among the women of India. The barrier to single women cracked when the British and Foreign School Society sent Miss M. A. Cooke to Calcutta to begin a girls' school (1822). Societies promoting "female education" formed in 1824 and 1834 as fore-runners of several Zenana Societies.<sup>2</sup>

During the years, 1800-1840, a vicious pamphlet war was continuing in Britain. Major Scott-Waring, Sydney Smith, Abbe Dubois, N. Wiseman and others attacked Indian Missions with the objective of halting them! C. Buchanan,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 193ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 124f, 199f.



Wilberforce, J. W. Cunningham and James Hough fought back brilliantly. Josiah Pratt began the monthly C.M.S. paper "Missionary Register" (1813), "provincial associations", and "deputations" to inform the public, raise funds and stimulate interest. These efforts proved most fruitful.<sup>1</sup>

The years of 1824-1841 were troubled ones for C.M.S. Although a Missionary College began at Islington (1825), the Evangelical camp experienced internal tensions. On top of this, the Tractarian or Oxford Movement which began with John Keble (ca. 1833) and gained fuller expression in John Henry Newman, offered a revival of interest in liturgy, the Church Fathers and relations with Rome as an alternative to Evangelicalism. Yet with the accession of Henry Venn to the secretariat (1841), C.M.S. gained new vigor. When Russia expelled the Basel Mission from Persia, these German missionaries (e.g. Pfander, etc.) greatly strengthened C.M.S. work among Muslims in India. By 1841, C.M.S. had fifty-six workers in India and the northern mission institutions, press and preaching displayed a fresh burst of energy. "Christian Villages" were formed in some areas. In Bengal to the north of Calcutta, mass movements to Christianity began with an increasing number of baptisms among the Karta Bhoja sect (mixture of Hindu-Muslim beliefs) in the 1830s and 1840s, but C.M.S. workers and policy were not yet ready to cope with the opportunity.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 99ff.

<sup>2</sup>At Krishnagar, Deerr baptised 30 in 1833 and 500 from ten villages in 1838. Soon 55 villages were "inquiring" and by 1840 the adherents numbered over 3,000. Yet the mission hesitated. Stock offers these reasons for the failure to act: "First, there were not native teachers enough, and of good quality enough, to go in at once and lead the converted on to a higher life. Secondly, it is clear that the German missionaries who took charge...had not learned the importance of teaching the Native Church its first lessons in self-support, self-administration, and self-extension....Scarcely any one at the time, at home or abroad had really grasped that great principle; and in North India especially the patriarchal system that suited the genius of the German brethren, making each missionary the ma-bap (mother and father) of his people, was, kind as it seemed, a real obstacle of the healthy independent growth of the Church. Then thirdly, when the Society at home, inspired by Henry Venn, adopted the principle just indicated as its definite policy the missionaries were withdrawn (or vacancies not supplied) too quickly; and the community that might in its infancy have been taught to walk alone, when suddenly let go, stumbled and fell." Stock, History of C.M.S., I, 316.

The mid-point of the century revealed the results of this pioneering. Obstacles to missions (except for the Mutiny, 1857 and Afghan Wars), had been reduced enough to allow ample room for activity. The combined efforts of missionaries, Christian Indians and enlightened civil administrators such as Governor-General Lord William Bentinck were able to effect tremendous social reforms curtailing several inhumane Indian practices and British patronage of native religions.<sup>1</sup> From its opportune position in North and Northwest India, C.M.S. was especially suited to develop its missionary methods among Muslims.

Major Anglican Contributions to Apologetics before 1850.

Anglican contributions to the apologetic-evangelistic approach to Muslims in India before 1850 can be traced from Martyn through Abdul Masih, S. Lee and K. G. Pfander. These representative figures reflect the larger effort.

Sheikh Salih (later baptized Abdul Masih, 1765-1827) scholar-teacher of Islam, Arabic, and Persian became disgusted by an assassination plot involving swearing on the Quran. At Cawnpore, he was attracted by Martyn's sermon on the Ten Commandments which interpreted law in light of the Sermon on the Mount; noted the impossibility of salvation by observing the law; and that the law was a school-master to bring us to Christ. His appetite whetted he sought work with Martyn, gained access to Persian and Urdu translations of the New Testament, and in his new faith requested baptism. After further instruction under David Brown in Calcutta, he was baptized (1813). The conversion of this Muslim teacher and former keeper of the King's jewels excited Lucknow. As lay-missionary of C.M.S. he won to Christ the chief physician (Taleb Masee'h) of the Rajah of Bhurtpore; with the Sherwoods prepared converts for baptism; toured with Corrie; and for twelve years ministered at Agra. He preached to poor and educated, shared his

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 293ff.

bread and medicine with those in need, and became involved in the controversies. He was the first of the long chain of Christian Indian apologists to Islam which continues to this day. When the Anglican bishop hesitated, he was ordained Lutheran (1821) and later Anglican by Bishop Heber (1825). His ability convinced English and Indian, Anglican and Lutheran, of the feasibility of an Indian ministry. He died shortly after beginning new work at Lucknow (1827). Abul Masih's pioneer ministry blended the methods of Martyn with an inheritance from Islamic rationalism to form a uniquely Indian (Muslim-convert) Christian apologetics.<sup>1</sup> This work about Agra suffered after his death until the arrival of Pfander (ca. 1841).

Samuel Lee (1783-1852) became the home-based Islamic scholar and apologist for C.M.S. and the vital link between Martyn and Pfander. Self-educated like Carey, he studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Hindustani until Buchanan introduced him to Pratt and it was arranged that he should continue study at Cambridge. C.M.S. was anxious to gain a scholar to translate the Scriptures and Prayer Book into Asiatic and other languages (Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Maltese, etc.) and to put Martyn's Persian N.T. to print. As the Society's "Orientalist", Lee became Professor of Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit and Bengali at the College at Islington (1825) and later Professor of Arabic then Hebrew at Cambridge (1819-1831). He helped develop two phases of the approach to Islam: the controversial-apologetic and the academic.<sup>2</sup>

Samuel Lee had grasp of the historical development of Christian-Muslim controversy from Jerome Xavier (at Akbar's Court, 1580) to Martyn.<sup>3</sup> Two things

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<sup>1</sup>"Sheikh Salih Abdul Masih," The Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, 53 (1964), pp. 3-4 and George Smith, Henry Martyn, pp. 286f.

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of C.M.S., I, 119ff, 251.

<sup>3</sup>Jerome Xavier, nephew of Francis Xavier of Goa followed the pattern of Raymond Lull (Ars Major, etc.) at Akbar's Court in Agra (1580). A relative,



prompted Lee to write his own apology. First, Martyn's reply, written in ill health and with limited resources, needed improvement. Second, the Rejoinder of Mohammed Ruza of Hamadan following Martyn's death needed a reply. After translating these recent Persian tracts into English, he adds his own apology in Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism (1824). His own approach is both academic and rational. Lee's contributions may be briefly listed as: First, if there are to be fruitful results the criteria for measuring truth must shift from "miracles" to Scriptures, i.e. trustworthy revelations from God.<sup>1</sup> Second, the key question is that of the validity (authenticity) of the Scriptures and this Lee seeks to prove by the new science of Higher and Textual Criticism. He traces the preservation of the MSS from the time of Moses till the modern period. It appears that he fails to differentiate between Christian revelation as centered in a Person attested to by recorded historical witnesses (Bible), and Islamic revelation as centered in a Book (miraculous, supra-historical).<sup>2</sup> Third, Lee asserts that the scientific approach of Locke must be applied to all testimony to

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P. Hieronymo Xavier wrote for the court two histories, Christi and S. Petri and Jerome wrote in Persian for Emperor Jahangir (Akbar's successor) A Mirror Showing the Truth (1609). Ahmed Ibn Zayn al-'Abidin, a Persian Nobleman responded with The Divine Rays in Refutation of Christian Error (1621). Phillip Guadagnoli of the College de propaganda fide in Rome added a rejoinder Apologia pro Christiana Religione (1631) and L. Maracci produced Alcorani Textus Universus (and Refutation) in 1698. The Protestant works by Grotius, Pocock, and H. Martyn were the next steps. Cf. Harry Dorman, Toward Understanding Islam (New York, 1948), pp. 37ff.

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note that this stress on miracles had dominated the missionary work of the Nestorians and Jacobites in Central Asia. The idea of "rational evidences" (cf. Grotius) was popular also in Europe. It developed into a cold rationalism (proving the deity of Christ, etc.) which spawned the reactionary liberal movement and a recovery of the humanity of Christ later in the 19th century. When the pendulum had shifted far to the left, Schweitzer and Barth triggered off a reversal in its movement. Lee and Pfander stand in the middle of 19th century rationalism.

<sup>2</sup>S. Lee, Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism (London, 1824), pp. 4, 533ff, 474ff, 517ff.

separate the historical from legend, tradition and fiction.<sup>1</sup> Fourth, Lee applies the above criteria to Muhammad and the Muslim community. The Prophet's failings are that he sealed the O.T. and N.T. to research and contradicted former prophets. The community mistakenly ascribed unproven authority to its founder and Book.<sup>2</sup> Fifth, Lee noted the many linguistic similarities between the Quran and the Syriac versions of the Scriptures and called for Muslims and Christians alike to research as to what is Islam's debt to Syrian and Nestorian Christianity. Here in 1824, Lee sets the stage for a "scholarly approach" as to the origins and sources of the Quran and Islam.<sup>3</sup> Sixth, Lee's presentation of the Christian faith and life is rooted in a philosophic-rationalistic outlook that often lacks the evangelical warmth and personal appeal of Martyn.

"We find in Scripture, that man is treated by his Maker as a reasonable, accountable, and passible being. Precepts are laid down to be observed by him, and rewards or punishments are promised...also informs us all men are sinners....It will be foreign to our purpose to enquire why God permitted this state of things to exist; that must be left to his inscrutable wisdom; ...[yet God gives a way of salvation. He then lists O.T. promises of salvation including the sacrifice and death of the Messiah.]...In the N.T. the same thing is declared; and, that, it is the exertion of faith alone, in the merits of Him who hath thus suffered for mankind, that man can be brought into a state of acceptance with his Maker...this does by no means relax man's responsibility....Under the first dispensation, certain precepts were laid down, and men were commanded to obey them. Under the new dispensation, additional precepts were laid down, which we are also commanded to observe ...to practice holiness, and to follow every good word and work...."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 466.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 511ff, 533, 537ff. Lee at times is severe with Muhammad: "Of him prophecy knows nothing, unless he be marked out as the anti-Christ, or as one of those pretenders who should almost deceive the elect. The religion recommended by Moses and Jesus, he confessedly opposed, laying down laws and precepts which they had reprobated. In appealing to the prophets, his blunders are those of ignorance; and, in charging the Scriptures with corruption he is guilty of palpable falsehood. His conduct in war is that of a man of the world, bloody and avaricious. As to the miracles related of him, they are either said to have been performed in private such for example, as his being saluted as a prophet by stocks and stones when he was a child; or are false such as his dividing the moon, causing the sun to stand still, etc...." (p. 566).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., appendix, pp. 124-138.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 548ff.

Revelation, reason, religious precepts and ethical obedience are the prime elements in Lee's apology. His desire to lead others to Christ was probably thwarted in some ways by the fact that he himself was captive to the rational systems of his day. Although Lee never served abroad, he remains an important subject due to his contribution to scientific Islamic scholarship and his influence upon the apologetics of Pfander, John Wilson, T. French, W. Muir and others.

Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-1865) is undoubtedly a central figure in the development of the apologetic approach to Muslims in the nineteenth century. Born in Württemberg, educated at Kornthal (a Moravian school) and Basel Missionary Seminary, he was sent by the Basel Mission to Georgia or Transcaucasia. From 1825 to 1837, he travelled, preached and wrote in Persia and nearby countries. During these demanding years he wrote Mizan-al-Haqq (The Balance of Truth). Pfander had an exceptional gift for languages as well as a sure grasp of indigenous thought patterns. Russian expulsion of the Basel Mission (1837) led to Pfander's appointment by C.M.S. to India. For sixteen years he served at Agra and Peshawar (1841-1857) and although frequently threatened, he continued to preach in public even during the Mutiny. Yet civil administrators (e.g. H. Edwardes) never considered him reckless. He had work to do and he set about it in his own systematic fashion. After the Mutiny, Pfander was considered the best qualified to begin the strategic new C.M.S. work in Constantinople (1858).<sup>1</sup> The open apologetic methods which had succeeded in British India however brought down the heavy hand of Ottoman authorities. Pfander retired to England and died there in 1865.

Those who knew Pfander considered him not only courageous, but of warm disposition and well-balanced temperament. He was undoubtedly of keen intellect,

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<sup>1</sup>S. M. Zwemer, "Karl Gottlieb Pfander," M.W., 31 (1941), 223f. The episode at Constantinople will receive fuller treatment in chapter three.



a blend of European pietism and rationalism.<sup>1</sup> Pfander was also drawn into several well-known controversial debates. Much interest about Agra resulted from his work and he agreed to meet the mullahs publicly. The two day discussion proved inconclusive, each claiming the victory, but two of the subordinate mullahs present were impressed with the validity of Christianity and later became Christians. They are typical of the number of outstanding converts Pfander won in each of his three fields. Safdar Ali later became an official in the India Education Department and Imad-ud-Din of Amritsar, a noted missionary minister and author.<sup>2</sup>

Although Pfander's writings do not convey his personal warmth fully, they provide a basis for examining his mission-methods. The first and most influential of his writings was Mizan-al-Haqq (The Balance of Truth). Written at the request and advice of his colleagues, the German text saw many translations and publications. The content of this widely circulated volume deserves special attention.<sup>3</sup> The almost flawless logic and the near-oriental style of Pfander drew the attention

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 217-226. Julius Richter, a leader in developing a German apologetic to Muslims says of Pfander, "He fearlessly travelled through the Northwest as far as Baghdad, winning souls for Christ by his clear dialectic and his warm heart. [Of Mizan-al-Haqq]...In the first part he disposes of the foolish prejudices of Moslems against the Bible, above all, the utter unreasonableness of the talk about the corruption of the text of the Bible, a means of attack, which devised by Mohammed himself, has been reiterated again and again. [It is, he says] ...the best Protestant work directed against Islam; it is still published and much read in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hindustani and English and is almost indispensable to every missionary among Mohammedans." J. Richter, A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East (New York, 1910), pp. 100f. Also cf. C. F. Eppler, Karl G. Pfander (Basel, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> A fuller account of the debate and a list of Pfander's converts may be found in Stock, History of the C.M.S., II, 160-171, 562f.

<sup>3</sup> The original MS is preserved in the archives of the Basel Mission. It was translated into Armenian (1829), Persian (1835), Hindustani (1853), Marathi (1865), Arabic (1865) and English (1867, etc.). The Persian text was revised by a liberal Persian Muslim and a mullah. For a summary examination of the English editions of R. H. Weakley (London, 1867, 134 pages) and St. Clair Tisdall (London, 1910, 370 pages) cf. Appendix B.

(Edinburgh, 1897), p. 31.

and admiration of many Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

What criticism may be leveled at this document? Although Pfander states that revelation is the key, the appeal is basically to reason and conscience. Part I is an exercise in apologetics justified by the application of modern research in the extant manuscripts and contents of the Scriptures. Part II is a positive statement of the Christian faith appealing to "intellectual belief" at times to a neglect of "the new life in the Spirit". His attempt at historicity and the appeal to the reader to inquire and decide in private without any compulsion remain acceptable even by modern standards. Pfander's greatest weakness is in Part III. The attack on the Quran, Muhammad and Islam was a psychological error even if it could have been historically substantiated. Pfander sought to arouse doubt and open a door by historical criticism, but because that criticism came from without rather than from within the Muslim community it often produced an angry defensive response. The document relied too heavily upon argument, reflecting the rational outlook of the Ulema and nineteenth century Europe, forgetting that men are tied to culture, community and heroes by emotion, etc. and hence consider any attack as one upon themselves. Other weaknesses include: a heavy dependence upon inadequate European sources for Muslim history (Islamics was yet an infant science), the terminology still retained a number of the prejudices of medieval Europe, and the length of the document (370 English pages) rather restricted its appeal to scholars. In spite of the above it was honored as the classic model of Christian apologetics by many throughout the century.

Pfander's other works also deserve review. Miftah-ul-Asrar (The Key of Mysteries) is a short treatise presenting the divinity of Jesus as Saviour and

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<sup>1</sup>A Shi'ah Mujtahid of Lucknow found the four books of Pfander of such charm and merit, far surpassing the composition of the Christian Padres that he suspected they were written by a Persian. Cf. Wm. Muir, The Mohammedan Controversy (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 31.

the doctrine of the Trinity. His basic premise is that these truths can be found only by faith in God's revelation, not by human experience (reason or science). He moves from careful biblical exposition to philosophical argument e.g. "the possibility of a Plurality in Unity", "A true knowledge of God and the Salvation of man are dependent on the Doctrine of the Trinity" inasmuch as God's love and mercy are extended to men through His eternal Son and sanctification through the Holy Spirit. He concludes:

"He who denies the Trinity is obliged to believe in an absolute Unity which excludes knowledge and will in God, as also His other moral attributes, leads to a denial of Revelation, and if followed up, plunges its advocates into Pantheism! -God's Holiness and Justice, as well as His love and Mercy can be rightly understood only in Christ, and a right knowledge of these is necessary for salvation. -Christ is Mediator and Saviour only because he is God and man, whoever therefore disbelieves his Divinity excludes himself from Salvation."<sup>1</sup>

The treatise, Tariq-ul-Hayat (The Way of Life), also published in India before 1844 concentrates on sin and redemption. It examines the Mosaic account of the Fall, the inwardness of sin, and the various religious ideas of "pardon". He finds the Muslim treatment of sin legalistic and external and the idea that "millions are predestined for hell" unacceptable. In contrast the Good-News of faith in Jesus not only appeals to the human heart but results in restoration to God's favor and the new life and character of the Christian. Some consider this his finest work.<sup>2</sup> The Tree of Life, a small Urdu tract, describes Christian morality and life with the support of biblical quotations. Pfander also engaged in "controversial" correspondence with the leading maulvis of North India. Only part of this was published.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Miftah-ul-Asrar, The Key of Mysteries was printed by 1844. A Persian edition with English summary (Agra, 1850) and an Urdu edition (London, 1862) are also available.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wm. Muir, Mohammedan Controversy, pp. 27-30.

<sup>3</sup> Pfander's rejoinder, The Solution of Difficulties was reprinted in a lengthy work (806 pages) by Sayyid Ali Hassan.



Remarks on the Nature of Muhammadanism is a most valuable personal statement giving insight into Pfander's concern for honest scholarship.<sup>1</sup> The true nature of Islam cannot be grasped by examining its literary documents. The Traditions, a mixture of fiction and fact retold by mullahs, exert more influence on the practice of the people than the Quran. Thus he urges Christian scholars to study the Hadiths and lists the recently published collections. Examining the popular Muslim beliefs and misconceptions regarding God, Creation, Sin, Forgiveness, Hell and Paradise, he explains how the Gospel speaks to each need in Islam. The concluding comments to Christian readers disclose Pfander's personal feelings:

"These extracts will, to every enlightened mind have fully justified the assertions we made at the beginning. They show clearly how foolish the Muhammadans have become, when, thinking themselves wise, they rejected the wisdom and the power of God revealed in the cross of Christ, and how little their own system could save them from sinking into the most appalling errors and the grossest superstition. It is true that in the Qur'an, as well as in their traditions, many a truth and many a good moral precept is contained; but it will not be necessary to mention it again, that all that is good and true in their religion, has been either literally, or according to the sense borrowed from the Jews and Christians, that is, from the Holy Scriptures. But as they did not receive the whole of divine truth and rejected Christ, this part, thus separated from the stock, from the tree of life, could neither actually enlighten nor save them. We further allow that the extract we have made from their traditions, is a partial one; but this was just our object, for the fair side of Muhammadanism has been presented often enough....As the eye is created for the light, so man's spirit for truth....These wants the Muhammadans too have within their spirits, but the light of divine truth did not in former ages shine upon them in its original and heavenly splendor; it was badly reflected and greatly darkened by the ignorance and ungodly conduct of the Jews and Christians around them. What is now required is, that the light of the Gospel, reflected in the holy walk and conversation of true believers, may be made to shine upon them in its unadulterated heavenly splendor. This alone can break their bonds, convince them to accept the salvation offered in the Gospel."<sup>2</sup>

Regardless of one's evaluation of Pfander's controversial approach, his intellectual abilities, literary skills and Christian dedication are not to be questioned. He remains a vital link in the formation of a Christian apology to Muslims.

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<sup>1</sup>The title, Remarks on the Nature of Muhammadanism (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1840, 41 pages), has been inscribed as a correction over the printed title of "Traditions" by Pfander's own hand. This copy is located in Edinburgh University Library, # P. 291/a.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 40f.

The development of a Christian apologetic from 1850 onwards can be seen as admiration for, reaction to and modification of the work of Pfander. Although no one again attempted his strenuous rational procedure, many admired him as a Master of apologetics. His approach was slowly modified and incorporated into a broader, varied, ever maturing evangelistic effort. Bishop T. V. French was proud to be Pfander's disciple and successor at Agra.<sup>1</sup> He in turn willed a methodological legacy to Bishop Lefroy. A still more matured apologetic would emerge in the Near East via Tisdall, Thornton, and Gairdner. Another scholarly strand stimulated by Pfander found expression in the Islamic scholar, William Muir (civil servant of North India and later administrator at the University of Edinburgh). Muir examined Muslim traditions, origins and history and produced one of the first massive lives of Muhammad.<sup>2</sup> Even more significant is the fact that Pfander was the model for many Indian clergy, evangelists and catechists from Imad-ud-Din onwards into the twentieth century.

With rise of a liberal reaction (Schleiermacher to Schweitzer) to earlier rationalism and the number of orientalists and humanists who appreciated more of Eastern culture and religion, Pfander's works became the object of attack. By the end of the nineteenth century most evangelicals (W. Tisdall, E. M. Wherry, W. A. Rice, etc.) agreed that "argument and abuse" were out of place but insisted that a Christian "apology" was still needed.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Birks, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, First Bishop of Lahore (2 vols., London, 1895), I, 70.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. William Muir, The Life of Mahomet and the History of Islam (4 vols., London, 1858 etc.), The Coran: Its Composition and teaching, and the testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures (London, 3rd ed., 1878) and many more writings and translations.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Zwemer argues that there is a biblical, historical and contemporary basis for a Christian apology, cf. M.W., 31 (1941), esp. pp. 224f. Bevan Jones in The People of the Mosque (pp. 238f) fully acknowledges Pfander's failings and sees his works as "a guide to something better". Harry G. Dorman, missionary in Syria-Lebanon, contends that Pfander's method stimulated the growth of both

The Second Era of Anglican Confrontation with Islam, 1850-1910: Further Modification of the Apologetic-Evangelistic Method

Anglican efforts among Muslims in North India were carried on mainly by the C.M.S. with limited work being done by the S.P.G. (and Cambridge Mission) and the Zenana Society. While the key developments in the apologetic approach are visible in French and Lefroy, parallel and slightly varying aspects will be seen in Robert Clark, Rowland Bateman, and S. S. Allnutt.

T.V. French: Evangelist, Teacher and Churchman

Thomas Valpy French (1825-1891) was born into an evangelical clerical home and educated at Rugby and Oxford.<sup>1</sup> Acquainted with both Evangelicals and Tractarians, he remained surprisingly independent. His first task in India with C.M.S. was the founding of St. John's College in Agra (1850), the new British center for the Northwest Provinces. Its enrollment reached 300 before the Mutiny (1857) even though the majority of Muslims still resisted western education. French's continuing emphasis was "evangelism via education".<sup>2</sup> After a furlough in England (1859-1862), French began his second task of frontier evangelism in the Derajat, on the border of Baluchistan. Administrators and retired officers of Christian conviction had encouraged this expansion into the Punjab and the Northwest. French travelled and preached in the bazaars of Dera Ismail Khan

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progressive and anti-Christian reform groups within Islam and Hinduism. For him, it was a major accomplishment when the "polemical method" ceased, cf. Toward Understanding Islam: Contemporary Apologetic of Islam and Missionary Policy (New York, 1948), esp. pp. 114-131. Daud Rahbar, "Christian Apologetic to Muslims" and R. M. Speight, "Some Bases for a Christian Apologetic to Islam" in I.R.M., 54 (1965), 353ff and 193ff respectively state the case for the method of a contemporary apologetics most effectively.

<sup>1</sup>Birks, French, I, 15-18. Also consider Eugene Stock, An Heroic Bishop, The Life-Story of French of Lahore (London, 1913).

<sup>2</sup>Birks, French, I, 201.



and other villages until struck down by fever and forced to return to an English parish (1863-1869). Again in India (1869), the building of St. John's Divinity School at Lahore (capital of the Punjab) for training Indian evangelists became his third major task. In this period (1869-1874), he did extensive pioneer preaching in and about Lahore and even to Kashmir. From 1874-1877, he aroused interest in England for Muslim work and assisted in the birth of the Cambridge-Delhi Mission. Fourthly, he was appointed as Bishop of the newly established diocese of Lahore (included Punjab, Sindh, and Kashmir) and soon found himself mediating between S.P.G. workers who were concerned with ecclesiastical orders, liturgies, etc., and C.M.S. personnel concerned about indigenous forms of evangelism and church. As bishop (1877-1887), French encouraged direct evangelism, schools for youth, Zenana missions, literary production by nationals, the Amritsar Medical Mission (1882), and even travelled to Persia. At times, this pioneer evangelist and capable churchman was troubled by "organizational burdens" and "Anglican in-fighting". At the age of 62, he resigned his office to tour the Near East and North Africa, to review the Eastern Churches and establish cordial relationships, and to issue a ringing call for missions to Muslims in Arabia. While the C.M.S. debated the issue, French felt compelled to begin his fifth and final project; he started work at Muscat, Oman where he was to die within a few months (May 14, 1891). French can be recognized as being first and foremost an evangelist to Muslims; secondly, an evangelist who saw the validity of educational work; and thirdly as a churchman who saw the establishment of an indigenous Church and ministry as the key to the evangelization of India.

Although French spent many years as a teacher at Agra (1850-8) and the Divinity School in Lahore (1870-4) and as Bishop (1877-87), he remained an evangelist. The proclamation of the Gospel to the Muslims had priority and every other method, institution, even the Church's indigenous ministry must serve that objective. Known as the "seven-tongued" evangelist for his linguistic ability,

he claimed that colloquial must be attained so that "to the poor the gospel may be preached" for "till the language is known, it is like digging with a broken spade".<sup>1</sup> Even at Agra, public or bazaar preaching occupied much of his time. Preaching and teaching had to be related if the school was to be a force in the community.<sup>2</sup> French wrote Secretary Henry Venn warning of the danger of neglecting evangelism for educational institutions (1852). He was also critical of the haphazard itinerant evangelism being done. He called for a strategy, "a preconcerted and well-digested scheme" which was not content with the periodical occupation of key cities but fostered an on-going work in the midst of "known" social units. This called for experienced foreign and Indian workers engaged in direct evangelism in religious situations they had carefully studied.<sup>3</sup>

During French's early years (1850-1858), he came under the influence of Pfander and at times accepted controversial methods. French saw such activity effective not so much in winning converts as gaining the attention, awakening the interest of an indifferent society.<sup>4</sup> While calling for aggressive evangelism, both men agreed that public debates generally produced little good. Nevertheless they found it difficult to avoid the challenge of two maulvis to a public debate in Agra (1854). These men had studied the Bible and Pfander's writings for two years and deserved to be heard. Pfander, with French as his second, debated for two days to a growing audience on issues such as the corruption of the Scriptures, the mission of Muhammad, the role of the Quran, the Divinity of Christ, etc. Although such debates aroused great interest, they were on the wane. Henceforth the task was left to Indian evangelists who were better equipped with oriental thought patterns.<sup>5</sup> While French continued to admire the work of Pfander, he

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 46.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 62.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 64ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 66f., 78.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., I, 204. Minor discussions by Europeans did take place however at Delhi in 1891 (Lefroy), Peshawar (Williams), and Amritsar in 1894.

gradually learned with others that aggressive attitudes produce unnecessary hostile reactions while a sympathetic spirit aids in communication.

"The love of God, the character, work and words of Christ, the effect produced by the Holy Spirit, seem to be the really effectual topics: others, in which more mystery is involved, lead to such blasphemous remarks."<sup>1</sup>

After discovering spontaneous converts and Christian communities resulting from the reading of the printed Word, French became convinced that Christian literature was more effective than noisy debate. Preaching combined with the printed sheet began to produce scattered converts.<sup>2</sup>

As a pioneer evangelist in the Derajat (1862) French applied his knowledge of language and Islam in most sacrificial circumstances. By elementary preaching, the acquisition of properties, and warm friendship with Muslims, the foundations for this new work were laid before he succumbed to sunstroke.<sup>3</sup> Again in 1869, he returned to Lahore determined to evangelize and to train evangelists. Whenever the Divinity School was not in session, French toured and preached about Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and even Kashmir. With Clark he began "bazaar preaching" in Kashmir (1871) amidst great hostility. Years later a native church, schools, hospital and leper asylum would be rooted in this soil (1895). In spite of frequent abuse, French "seldom let the day pass without going to the bazaar in the evening and talking to the people about Christ".<sup>4</sup> With the growth of organized resistance to public preaching by the Wahhabis and others (1872-73), the evangelists avoided public dispute and where possible built special halls for public preaching.

The maturing evangelistic methods of Bishop French can be observed in his visit to Persia in the footsteps of Martyn (1883). His approach to the Persian Muslims was to hold small discussion groups in which he quietly expounded the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 57, 293.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 73-81.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 145ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 258, II, 115f.



Bible. His diary for April discloses that he found a great receptivity for such themes as the Kingdom of God, the death and burial of Christ, the atonement, the second coming, the idea that trinity is rooted in unity, and especially the question of the new birth:

"April 12, 1883. Thank God for some most interesting conversation with some askhods....It is surprising to see how much is admitted, and apparently in some assurance of faith. The Lord does seem to have His own everywhere. They did not attempt to set up Mohammed against Christ....The dying and rising with Christ seemed marvellously to commend itself to them. The Word and Son of God, His eternal oneness with the Father, seemed to present no difficulty. 'How can we come thus,' they said, 'to be dead and buried with Christ?' I dwelt on baptism and the yielded heart and life as the true means of death to sin in repentance....A general in the army and a sheikh called....They said much about the 'tauhid' or unity, and I showed how the unity was the first principle of all religion and all truth. So far we were all agreed; but there were idiomati, which were the mysteries of faith. I must try to show how barren, empty, and naked the idea of absolute deism is, and how the Trinitas is out of the root of the unity....They inquired particularly about 'wiladat-i-sani' (new birth), what it meant and how it was attained, which gave occasion for bringing out the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit....A long and pleasant evening with a Nicodemus-like moolah who sat one and a half hours,...'Masih imroz aram' (Christ is peace, today) and the teaching based upon it, struck him much. 'Being justified by faith' must follow this evening...."<sup>1</sup>

Agreeing with Alexander Mackay of Calcutta (1849-90) and General Haig, French saw Muscat as a strategic point.<sup>2</sup> In his last days, this solitary figure inaugurated work there under most primitive conditions. By personal conversations in the bazaar and coffee-shops he spoke to the outcaste poor and sheikhs alike on his central theme of "the death into sin and new birth into righteousness".<sup>3</sup> Even in death (May 14, 1891), French continued to inspire such figures as Allnutt, Lefroy, Zwemer, etc. to the evangelization of Muslims.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. ibid., II, 56-58.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 361f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., II, 339-341, 363, 371ff.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas P. Hughes of Peshawar dedicated his Dictionary of Islam (1885) to Bishop French and J. D. MacBride, reader in Arabic at the University of Oxford dedicated The Mohammedan Religion Explained (London, 1857) to French in a three page "open letter" which is most reflective of the spirit of the times and the respect French drew.

Three aspects of French's apologetic-evangelistic approach appear in an article published after his death.<sup>1</sup> First, one begins with an element of the human predicament or Islamic thought and then proceeds to demonstrate how the Gospel speaks to this need. For example, the mystic devotion and desire for fellowship with God expressed by Sheikh 'Abd-al-Qadir (leader of the Qadiriyya) appealed to French. The Sheikh had once prayed:

"O Lord there are two boons I ask Thee to grant me; if Thou grant me but these two, I will never ask of Thee any petition more. First, I ask Thee to give me the death in which there is no life; and second, to give me the life in which there is no death."

French used this as a point for introducing the idea of surrender to Christ and the rebirth to eternal life. Second, the central message of the Gospel, "Reconciliation" must be proclaimed so as to meet man's great longing for brotherhood. Communion (with God in Christ and with other men undergoing renewal in His Church) is at the heart of the Christian message and experience. Third, national "apostles" must be raised up from the courageous converts from Islam as soon as possible. They would be best equipped to understand and communicate the above two points.<sup>2</sup>

Several other insights are not to be overlooked. First, the Mission to Islam will be fulfilled only by personal contact and sacrifice. The idea of sacrifice came to the fore: "If we would win these Moslem lands for Christ, we must die for them."<sup>3</sup> Second, this mission involves the whole Christian community, lay and ordained, national and foreigner. French saw the danger of overstressing "episcopacy" and admitted laymen as co-ordinate members of church synods. Lay-responsibility and lay-testimony were essential to the Church's life and mission.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. French's article written from Muscat, "Moslems in Arabia and North Africa," Indian Church Quarterly Review, July, 1891.

<sup>2</sup>Birks, French, II, 343ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 35, II, 92.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 37ff, 369.

Third, mission transcended denomination and nationality. Although a convinced Anglican churchman, French cooperated with and urged his own Church to learn from Lutherans, Presbyterians and others in mission. Then, as already seen in Persia and Arabia, his approach to Muslims mellowed over the years until it was both sympathetic and biblical.

The potential of education for the mission to Muslims also gained French's attention. He was sent to Agra to establish and direct an institution of higher education "as the true way of introducing the Gospel to the upper classes of society".<sup>1</sup> Appropriating the methods introduced by Duff in Bengal, St. John's College at Agra (1850) succeeded reasonably well in terms of enrollment. French sought to generate a spirit of respect as well as free discussion in Bible study. He hoped that "sustained and steady influence" rather than violent shocking ideas at the outset would elicit from the students an interest in Christianity.<sup>2</sup> The Christian College was able to compete with the governmental college only because of the attractive character of its faculty and its superior program of English. Muslim and Hindu parents appreciated this religious-moral element (in contrast to the frequently agnostic spirit of governmental schools) as well as English, the qualification valued for government service.<sup>3</sup> French became very critical however of the monotonous teaching of elementary courses and "prestige" English. He favored the use of the vernacular and urged that the Church's work in higher education should aim at recruiting and training a Christian work force:

"Amid the colleges growing up around us shall no regard be had to India's Christian future?...We can nevertheless conceive it as very possible, to say the least, that there may hereafter gather within and around these walls a band of native evangelists, catechists, and teachers, towards whom the founders of native Churches may look for a supply of qualified instructors; and often does encouragement arise, in carrying on a seemingly insignificant theological class, consisting of three catechists and six or eight boys, from which

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 20ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 55f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 42f.



the thought that this class may hereafter become the most important and strictly missionary branch of our college work...."<sup>1</sup>

Because the immediate results at St. John's College were small (only one Muslim convert, more Hindus), French turned more and more attention to outside evangelism. Yet over the years as he saw how many of these former pupils later entered the Church and served in Christian callings, his estimate of the educational approach arose. Baptizing one of these at Agra, he wrote:

"January 20, 1869. I see more and more that schools form the very stamina of our mission efforts and that those daily instilled lessons leave an impression which, though long and determinately resisted, is never wholly lost. May this lead me to fervent daily intercession for them."<sup>2</sup>

Out of these experiences two ideas were born: first, the Divinity School at Lahore, and second, that seats of learning in Britain should send the most dedicated and talented scholars to serve similar institutes in the midst of Islam and Hinduism. French's paper (Feb. 16, 1876) helped give shape to the Cambridge-Delhi Mission ("Cambridge Brotherhood") led by Edward Bickersteth, which by 1879 had six of its number abroad including Allnut and Lefroy.<sup>3</sup> In a minor way, French contributed to the idea of "education as the handmaiden of evangelism" as did Duff, Wilson, Forman, Ewing, etc.

As a Churchman, French made two distinctive contributions to the changing pattern of mission. First he founded St. John's Divinity School in Lahore for the training of an Indian ministry. Second as Bishop of Lahore he sought to organize the Church's life that it might be effective in mission. In a paper on the proposed Divinity School (1866), French sets forth several of his ideas:

"(1) We need an improved system of theological training for our more advanced converts with a special view...to their being efficiently entrusted with the work of pastors and evangelists. The remarks thus elicited have implied a secret conviction in the minds of many that the materials in hand for constructing and building up the native Church in India are not turned

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 44f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 201.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 324f.

to the best possible account....

"(3) It is clear we must not compromise the future character of the native church by attempting to trammel it with too rigid adherence to our institutions....Its growth in the main must be free and spontaneous....

"(4)...the early churches... did fix upon convenient centres which should form rallying points for the promotion and diffusion abroad of the light of the Gospel. In these a small body of Christian teachers devoted themselves to the more complete establishment, and firmer building up in the truth and doctrine of Christianity, of a portion of the choicest and ablest converts, with a view to their becoming in their turn teachers and preachers of the Word....

"(6)...Northwestern India. The ancient and well-earned reputation for learning [of this area] ...demand of us one or more centres or headquarters of Christian literature; not such a school merely as should count a theological department among many devoted to literary and scientific acquirement, but an institute, standing apart and alone, addicted to theology, and to other sciences only so far as they are kindred and related to it....

"(10)...it should be as strictly as possible vernacular...whenever an English course is going on, there should be a corresponding and collateral course in the vernacular...the college I propose should be dedicated to the purely native church--to its building up, its strengthening and encouragement. A Mohammedan convert, brought up all his life in distaste and prejudice of English, should here find his want of English does not disentitle or incapacitate him for perfecting his curriculum of theology up to the full measure of perfection which the college course reaches. Here Christianity should be domesticated on the Indian soil, and be able to reckon on a home and hearth of its own. Here, when it is possible to obtain them, should be found men who, by a severe and close attention bestowed on Mohammedan and Hindu literature, can express the delicate shades, the nice distinctions of thought, which some, at least, of our standard works of theology involve....[Needed is] the power to expound them freely and with confidence to the vast masses of India.

"(14)...The Committee are not ignorant how rich a store of wealth is embraced in the range of Hindu literature [and Muslim, which can be harnessed] ...for the purpose of Gospel extension, of its more forcible expression, of its deeper and firmer engrafting in the national mind,...we should try to act upon the principle enunciated in so many forms in Holy Scriptures,--- 'I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord.'...Is it not hard to suppose that God has suffered that vast mass of erudition and result of mental force to accumulate for so many ages to be utterly purposeless towards setting up the Kingdom of His dear Son?"<sup>1</sup>

The above approach includes advanced ideas regarding evangelism, the indigenous church and ministry, communication and culture adaptation. In some measure these were put into action at the Divinity School with the assistance of J. W. Knott,

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<sup>1</sup>The paper "Proposed Plan for a Training College of Native Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers for North-West India and the Punjab" (1866) was read before seventy clergy and Henry Venn at Gloucester Deanery. Quoted in Birks, French, I, 159ff.

R. Clark, R. Bateman and others. Situated in semi-Muslim Lahore, the students were mainly converts from Islam. By 1872 two of the enrolled twenty were ordained. Modelled on the British curriculum with special study in oriental religious systems, the program was certainly not anti-intellectual. Priority was given to biblical studies (in the original Hebrew and Greek texts) so that the student could transfer these ideas into Indian thought-patterns and terminology.<sup>1</sup> In addition to other subjects, French personally instructed in homiletics, pastoral care and practical theology. Teacher and students gained fuller experience by touring, preaching and baptizing converts.<sup>2</sup> This school with its disciplined but devotional life, quarters for married students, required "native dress", etc. poured a valuable line of catechists, lay-evangelists and clergy into the Church's life and work.

What kind of Church did French visualize for India? First, the national Church must be indigenous yet not lose its catholic nature. French could be described as an independent "mediating" Anglican, at times fiercely resisting the importation of "high church" rituals which would check the growth of Indian Church forms and yet firmly holding to the idea of episcopacy and apostolic succession.<sup>3</sup> By the time he became Bishop, his great fear was that there would emerge two Anglican Churches in India: a native one under C.M.S. missionaries and Indian ministers, and an "English" one under appointed chaplains. Such a tragedy would have shattered the Church's ministry of reconciliation. Resisting all efforts to split the Church, he laboured to bring the two extremes into harmonious co-operation and occasionally gained the criticism of both!<sup>4</sup> Coupled with this was the question

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<sup>1</sup>Birks, French, I, 219, 246.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 226, 256.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 297, II, 115.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 329ff, 381ff, 405.



of the Church's relation to the British government. French went to India advocating government support for Christian missions.<sup>1</sup> By the time of the Mutiny, he saw why the Indian Church must be cut free of such crippling entanglements. Yet he was never able to escape the fact that he was distinctly "English", appointed Bishop with governmental approval and obliged to supervise the care of English civilians and troops.<sup>2</sup> His creation of "a representative Church government" in the Indian Church was a major accomplishment. For the three Synods (1878, 1880, 1885) called by French, a system of lay representation from the congregations was introduced which helped alleviate the problem of foreign workers outnumbering nationals. The laity became co-ordinate members of the Church Synods and not mere assessors.<sup>3</sup> The responsibility of the Lahore bishopric were most exhausting.<sup>4</sup> French persisted in his effort to shape a truly indigenous yet catholic young church in spite of the organizational machinery, fund-raising, cathedral building, and party-infighting for ten years before passing the reins to another and returning to his first love, evangelism.

Second,<sup>that</sup> the National Church must give expression to her true "united nature" for unity is a vital part of witness. This unity must begin among all Anglicans

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 39f. In the enthusiasm of the times there often was a blurring of the interests of State and Church, Colonial expansion and Christian mission in the minds of some. E.g. cf. C. K. Robinson, Missions Urged Upon the State on Grounds Both of Duty and Policy: An Essay which obtained the Maitland Prize in the year 1852 (London, 1853) and J. N. Ogilvie, Our Empire's Debt to Missions (London, 1924).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Birks, French, I, 205ff, 250.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 365, 369.

<sup>4</sup>In 1888 the Punjab Mission News reported the Bishop had jurisdiction over 78 clergy (19 chaplains, 42 C.M.S., 6 S.P.G., 6 Cambridge Mission, 5 others); 8 lay missionaries; 37 lady Zenana missionaries; 19 Cambridge and S.P.G. women missionaries; 3 sisters of St. Denys School at Murree; 28,700 European and Indian Christians; and an area populated by 23 million Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. From 1877-86, thirteen new churches and the Lahore Cathedral were opened. Cf. Ibid., I, 360f.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 233, 250ff, II, 142.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 232, 250ff.

in India, but not remain there. French established good relations with the Scottish and American Presbyterians. In spite of his early "caution" and later restriction by "strict Church rules", he managed to cross traditional lines in many ways.<sup>1</sup> French was optimistic about the possibility of "one common church for all India" provided truth and unity were sought in the Holy Spirit's presence. Such a Church must be built on an Early Church (biblical) basis which provided unity without enforced uniformity. He was in favor of fuller use of Oriental worship patterns "free from stiffness of our English liturgical services" and introduced several reforms himself. He also foresaw the drawing together of episcopal and presbyterian forms of church government. The introduction of lay representatives in Church Synods was a step in this direction. Nearby Presbyterian activity, internal "native church" pleas (cf. Robert Clark), and the Missionary Conferences all strengthened this move towards church-unity and a united Protestant witness to Islam and others.<sup>2</sup>

Third, French stressed that the National Church must fulfill the mission for which she lives. In encouraging the development of indigenous missionary methods, he was open to some very unorthodox methods, e.g. idea of Christian "guru or fakir", traveling poets, etc. While ever on the search for clerical candidates, he felt that a lay movement was what India needed. When the Presbyterians and Wesleyans built divinity schools, he worried lest too high a proportion of Christian youth enter the ministry and thus diminish the lay witness.<sup>3</sup> Yet French was all too human and when distinctly Indian movements took shape, he feared lest they be cut adrift from links with the past. At times he appears suspicious of the Native Church Council in the Punjab under his friend Robert Clark. As bishop he must "protect" the organization and traditions of the Anglican Church in India.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 345, 405, et passim.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 253, II, 137f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 233, 250ff, II, 142.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 252, et passim.

In spite of this, French remains a major contributor to an apologetic approach to Muslims. His vision included the day when missionaries would travel from East to West.<sup>1</sup>

"In ages to come what judgement is the Church likely to pass upon our missionary agencies?...I have a sorrowful conviction that the Church of the future will, in some respects at least, profit rather from being warned by our mistakes than helped by the record of our wisdom, courage, abilities, and patient constancy and perseverance....I should say that it is our attempt to invent fresh models and courses of action instead of throwing ourselves with ventures of unfaltering faith into old missionary pathways, which must largely be credited with our failures and limited successes in the East...."<sup>2</sup>

Robert Clark: the Indigenous Church

Robert Clark (1825-1900) spent a long career in direct evangelism (1852-1898) and provides good balance and supplement to French. By his service, retirement and death in India, he represents one who almost completely identified himself with this land and its young Church. Clark was reared in an evangelical home, trained in commerce in Germany, served with a Liverpool merchant firm before his call to the ministry (1844), was educated at Trinity College and offered a tutorship at Cambridge, prior to accepting the challenge of the Punjab (1851). When the American Presbyterians at Ludhiana urged the C.M.S. to join in the work, Clark founded a central station at Amritsar where he served most of his life. He also pioneered in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Tibet and other points in the Punjab and served as Mission Secretary.<sup>3</sup>

As an evangelist, Clark left an impressive record. The whole program and scattered mission properties in the city of Amritsar aimed at outreach, instruction

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 251.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 143.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. the biography by his adopted son, Henry Martyn Clark, M.D., Robert Clark of the Punjab: Pioneer and Missionary Statesman (London, 1907) and Robert Clark, Punjab and Sindh, Missions of the C.M.S., 1852-84 (London, 1885, revised edition, 1904).



and discussion, accommodations and industries. His foremost principle was that evangelism was best carried out by national workers. Clark sought to identify himself with the life and witness of this small band. By 1854, there had been some twenty-three baptisms including notables such as a Maharajah, a Muslim doctor, a Sikh priest and soon the first Muslim woman. A number of these were soon in the field as evangelists. Amritsar's school (1852), College (1862) and Christian Girls' Boarding School were also graduating a number of qualified Christian workers. Clark's ability to work with and through Indian evangelists is seen in his relationships with Imad-ud-Din (former Maulvie) and Pandit Narain Dass Kharak Singh (former Sikh and Sanskrit scholar). Clark knew how to train pastors and then to step back while delegating them new responsibilities and respect. Miyan Sadiq became the elected pastor of the Amritsar Church after thirteen years as catechist, two years training at the Lahore Divinity School, and a tour with Clark to the Holy Land. Of the 555 adult converts baptized at Amritsar between 1852 and 1883, 253 were from Islam.<sup>1</sup> No channel for evangelism was to be lost. Literature work grew in the cooperative "Punjab Religious Book Society" of C.M.S. and Presbyterians. Clark began a series of Commentaries on the Scriptures in 1874 to help train the native Church, pastors, teachers, families, and inquirers. He soon realized his limitations as an European and urged Imad-ud-Din and others to take over this and other literary projects. Imad-ud-Din, a most respected author, acknowledges that the inspiration and even much of the content of his works are to Clark's credit.<sup>2</sup> Clark's adopted son began the monthly Panjab Mission News (1885). Robert Clark was the first missionary to cross the Indus to the Afghans (1853). He worked with Pfander at Peshawar, the doorway to Cabul and Central Asia, yet avoided "controversy" and preached the Gospel in its "simplicity and fulness".<sup>3</sup> With the

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<sup>1</sup> R. Clark, Punjab and Sindh, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> H. M. Clark, Clark, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 123, 118f.

help of Indian evangelists, first efforts were made in Kashmir and Tibet as well (1854, 1863-4).<sup>1</sup> Space does not permit full acknowledgement of Clark's work in education<sup>2</sup> or Christian service and medical work. In 1863, he was the prime mover behind the C.M.S. medical program associated with the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society.<sup>3</sup>

Clark's most distinctive contribution was the role he gave to the National Church. The growing young churches about Amritsar helped him to visualize the importance of accenting the missionary structure of the church, and the Indian ministry. Clark considered the natural tendency of converts to congregate about mission compounds and to depend on European missionaries as a retrograde step sure to stunt the Church's growth. Converts were urged to live as citizens spread out among their countrymen, each radiating light in the encircling night.<sup>4</sup> Since native Christians survived India's climate better than the foreign missionaries, it was apparent the future belonged to the National Church.<sup>5</sup> Therefore he attacked "missionary domination" and stressed training for independence:

"It would seem to follow, then that we must make them the actors in missionary work, and must not let them be merely the persons who are always acted on. We must throw responsibility on them, and throw on them difficulties too, as they occur; and, placing them in the arena, in the sight of God and man, we must let them act,...Have we not, we may ask, made duties, and especially mission duties, too easy for native Christians....It would seem that they must begin to act for themselves; to preach for themselves; to conduct schools...; to go out on itinerations; to publish books...to raise subscriptions...to live...leaning on no arm but their own and God's."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 190ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 278ff, 313, et passim.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 238, 246, 294.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 243. Clark also backed T. P. Hughes' use of a Mughal architecture in the midst of the city of Peshawar. Cf. F. E. Wilcox, "Brief Resume of the origins of missions to Muslims in the Northwest Frontier Province (Pakistan)," M.W., 42 (1952), 100f.

<sup>5</sup>Clark, Clark, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 251, also cf. 278ff.

This somewhat "forceful" if common sense approach brought results. Not only were congregations increasing their stewardship, but learning the value of cooperation with Presbyterians, Lutherans, Cambridge Mission, etc. Clark and John Newton promoted the idea of a federal union of Anglicans, Presbyterians and others. The Missionary Conference<sup>1</sup> from 1861 onwards stimulated such hopes.

Remaining at Amritsar after his appointment as Mission Secretary (1878), Clark began his hardest battles in behalf of the "young Indian Church". Its independent action was often blocked, he felt, not only by the English majority of the organized Church but also by the "institutionalized" program of the C.M.S.<sup>2</sup> He differed on several points with his respected friend, Bishop French. For Clark, the episcopalian form of government was not an "ultimate". God's grace depends not upon nationality or forms.<sup>3</sup> For twenty years, Clark battled that the Punjab Native Church Council might gain more responsibility. He argued: "Our missionary policy should always be that we (the Europeans) must decrease, they (the Indians) must increase."<sup>4</sup> This transference of authority, the termination of entangling alliances of the Church with the Crown, and the incorporation of missionary planning and execution into the National Church (rather than leaving it in a Foreign Mission Organization) were urgent requirements for the future health and mission of the Church in India according to Robert Clark. His plan was that mission activity should be rooted in native congregations and regional Church councils under Indian jurisdiction. This was opposed or rivaled by entrenched "mission stations", a largely English dominated episcopacy, and a few foreign workers jealous of their authority.<sup>5</sup> It is well to note that in South India where his type of ideas were adopted the united Church emerged much earlier than in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 242, 252f, 306, 324.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 329

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 305.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 307

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 255ff, 306-309, 340.



North. Clark's confidence in Indian Christians, congregations and councils nevertheless contributed immensely to the growth of the Church in Sindh and the Punjab and to the formation of an indigenous evangelistic-apologetic approach to Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

Rowland Bateman: Itinerant Evangelism

During thirty years of service in Northwest India, Rowland Bateman (1840-1916) became known as an itinerant evangelist with a capacity for personal communication few Europeans could match. After various teaching assignments at Dera Ismail Khan (1868-9, Amritsar (1869), and Lahore Divinity School (1869-72) in which this Oxford graduate personally won his Muslim teachers and students to Christ, he gained an affection for itinerant evangelism.<sup>2</sup> Working as a free-lance evangelist with one or two Indian companions he demonstrated "how" the Church must be built. First, he gave personal attention to an inquirer no matter what might be the time, distance, or risk involved.<sup>3</sup> Second, he took pains to train capable converts to seek out and follow up other serious inquirers. Thus were friends, class-mates, relatives, etc. drawn to Christ. While maintaining close contact with schools, congregations, Christian-run industries and villages, he preferred that Indian Christians should control these while the missionary set the pace by pioneering new areas. Bateman's concern for the poor and sick led him to tie medical work together with evangelism. With Herbert U. Weitbrecht (-Stanton), he

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<sup>1</sup>For an excellent treatment of the growth of the Church, between 1851 and 1903 cf. the revised edition of R. Clark's book, Punjab and Sindh (1904).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. R. Maconachie, Rowland Bateman (London, 1917) and A. R. MacDuff, The Utmost Bound of the Everlasting Hills or Memories of Christ's Frontier Force in North-Western India (London, 1909).

<sup>3</sup>Two converts, Waris and Datta (baptized 1874 and 1874) travelled with Bateman to England. The former became a minister and the latter a medical doctor (University of Edinburgh).

became involved in the "mass movement" of outcaste peoples to Christianity in the Punjab (esp. 1886-1897). The note of "deliverance from bondage" in the Gospel struck a responsive point in the spiritual and social needs of these groups. Their transformation in turn captured the attention of enlightened Muslims who began to inquire for themselves as to the validity of this Faith. Bateman's travels and work about Narowal, Clarkabad and the Jhang Bar plus the migratory nature of his converts led to considerable expansion radiating out from this one figure. His approach has been well summarized by his biographer:

"First, however, something must be said about his methods of doing his divinely commissioned work....One of his gifts was, so to speak, an insatiable sociability--a faculty which I have sometimes called Socaratic, in that, as is said of Socrates, he 'talked to all comers, questioning them about their affairs,' etc....His manner in doing this was so manly, and simple, and engaging, that offence was not easily taken, and his great-hearted optimism enabled him to meet non-Christians with cordiality....it was the humanness of his sympathy with and comprehension of men as men....His character drew young men to him like a magnet, and a goodly band became Christians under his influence, and have ever since been leaders in the Punjab Church."<sup>1</sup>

Samuel S. Allnutt: Educational Evangelism

Samuel Scott Allnutt (1850-1917), along with French and Lefroy, demonstrates how the "higher education" approach of Duff was adapted for Anglican usage. Allnutt belonged to the Cambridge-Delhi Mission which French had helped stimulate in 1876.<sup>2</sup> While G. A. Lefroy became a leading evangelist to Muslims, Allnutt concentrated on the educational work. Allnutt was reared in an evangelical home

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<sup>1</sup>Maconachie, Bateman, pp. 127f, 173f.

<sup>2</sup>The S.P.G. developed a considerable work force in India which by 1900 included 64 ordained men, 1938 Indian workers, 87 stations, 30,349 communicants, 82,363 adherents. Cf. H. P. Beach, Statistics and Atlas of Protestant Missions (New York, 1903), p. 25. The young "Cambridge Brotherhood" became related to their program. Other helpful sources include: C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. (London, 1901); C. F. Pascoe, The Story of the Delhi Mission (Westminster, 1917); L. F. Henderson, The Cambridge Mission to Delhi (London, 1931); F. F. Monk, A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi (Calcutta, 1935); F. F. Monk, Educational Policy in India (Bombay, 1934); S. Bickersteth, The Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth (London, 1899) and Cecil H. Martin, Allnutt of Delhi, A Memoir (London, 1922).

and later influenced by the Tractarian movement. His high church view laid great stress on devotional study and prayer. A stickler for quality education, he founded St. Stephen's School and College (1881) and served for 18 years as principal. They both attracted an increasing percentage of Muslims over the years.<sup>1</sup> In an occasional paper, "Education as a Missionary Agency" (1897), Allnutt expressed his approach:

"First of all it should be distinctly understood that by missionary education is meant, mainly and predominantly, seminaries of sound learning and religious education for non-Christians....Almost all the subjects are capable of having a religious bearing imparted to them, and the indirectness of the lesson often enhances its effectiveness. Still actual instruction in the Bible is, for all that, the part of the day's teaching which we endeavour to make the pièce de resistance, so to say of our teaching. It is certainly the subject in which the men come to take as keen an interest as any of their course."<sup>2</sup>

"The Cambridge Brotherhood" were able to devote much individual time to their students and inquirers. Allnutt's extended effort with one student exemplifies this:

"It is no intellectual process by which he is gradually feeling his way to Christ as his Saviour. I have felt lately how significant is the order in which we are taught to think of the three great functions, so to say, of our Lord--Prophet, Priest, and King. My friend has fully grasped the first ...his sincere object now is to find in Him his Priest, his Saviour...[in a letter] ...He has I am thankful to say, witnessed boldly for Christ his Master."<sup>3</sup>

Allnutt observed that his students were caught in a dualism, a contradiction between their Western science and literature, and the accretions, if not the essential beliefs, of their Indian religions. He encouraged them to discern what were the good elements in their religions and what was fragmentary and worthless accretion. In this way he hoped to pave the way to the Christian faith rather than produce a critical spirit which rejects all religion. Allnutt's apology was

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<sup>1</sup>In 1897 the College had 54 Hindus, 7 Muslims, 9 Christians and in 1920: 130, 100 and 20 respectively. The School and its branches had an even larger enrollment. Cf. Martin, Allnutt, pp. 75ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 79f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 62f.



based largely upon natural theology, appealing to reason to accept Christianity as the true religion.<sup>1</sup>

George A. Lefroy: Evangelist, Teacher and Churchman

Changing British attitudes greatly affected mission work. While the government's policy was one of "neutrality" many Christian individuals in civil and military service for a time (1850-1870) positively supported mission work.<sup>2</sup> But in the last quarter of the century the growth of liberal thought produced a reversal of this trend, an attack on conservative theology and missions. Some found the origin of religion in human experience or culture rather than revelation. Others imbued with the new science of literary criticism attacked the documents of Christianity. One asserted that Muhammad had restored to Christianity what Paul had perverted.<sup>3</sup> The new awareness of Eastern Lands, the mixed growth of humanistic and agnostic thought in Europe and Britain, and the changing relationship of Britain and her colonies were bringing to bear new pressures on the overseas mission program.<sup>4</sup>

In this setting, George A. Lefroy (1854-1919) continued to develop the Anglican apologetic-evangelistic approach to Islam inherited from French. This

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 38ff.

<sup>2</sup>For example, examine the credit given to missions in the Report of the Secretary of State and Council of India, "The Moral and Material Process and Condition of India" for the House of Commons (1873). Quoted in Clark, Punjab and Sindh, pp. 2ff.

<sup>3</sup>"In probable connection with the Ebionites or anti-Paulinian Christians, and under divine guidance Mahomed rejected the Essenic-Buddhistic doctrines which Paul had applied to Jesus Christ..." Ernest DeBunsen, Islam or True Christianity (London, 1889), p. 170.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Max Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History (London, 1965) and G. A. Hood, "An Introductory Study of our Missionary 'Image', 1847-1965," The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, 13 (May, 1966), 78-97.

distinguished member of the Cambridge mission served with St. Stephen's College and the larger evangelistic program about Delhi (1879-1898); as Bishop of Lahore (1899-1912); and as Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of all India (1913-1919). A natural leader and diligent scholar, he was remembered also for his "big humanity" and Irish humour.<sup>1</sup> After gaining eloquence in Urdu for his preaching and discussions with Muslims, Lefroy also studied Arabic, the Quran and Muslim theologians. While others concentrated on the schools, he was drawn to the rough "give and take" of bazaar preaching. The changing social-religious climate in North India was accompanied by increased vocal opposition to public preaching and by 1890 Lefroy changed his strategy.<sup>2</sup> A Preaching Hall (named after Bickersteth) provided an opportunity to preach with less interference.

Lefroy's apologetic took shape in the "hammer and anvil" setting of bazaar preaching. The persistence of Lefroy is borne out by his continuation in the bazaar in spite of his constant abuse by a blind Maulvi, a Muslim teacher, whom he called his "thorn in the flesh". After nearly eight years of opposition, this Maulvi confessed his faith in Christ in the new Preaching Hall (1892). Baptized as Ahmed Masih, he went on to proclaim his new-found faith for over 20 years. Lefroy found his audiences most receptive to the theme of "the Atonement as the supreme manifestation of the love of God, i.e. of the one power adequate to wean us from our habits of sin". He went on to say:

"It is extraordinary how one's experiences at Bazaar preaching differ. One night one comes away with an almost hopeless sense of having done nothing ...and then one gets an experience like last night....If the lessons of our Lord's life are true for us, it is evident that it is rather through apparent defeat and failure than through conscious triumph that victory in the true sense of the word is won;...Every week I seem to be getting a little more into touch with these Mahommedans, and it may possibly please God to give one some real power amongst them during the coming years."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. H. Montgomery, Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy (London, 1920).

<sup>2</sup>Montgomery, Lefroy, pp. 67ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 76f.

In another venture, Lefroy sought to enter into direct discussions with Muslim leaders. An hour was appointed for this "dialogue" in a local mosque (June 19, 1890). Lefroy was at first hopeful:

"I have been meeting some Mahommedans in a much more intelligent and reasonable way than I ever did before in one of their mosques, and really trying to get them to understand our creed. I must say they have been on the whole wonderfully courteous and willing to understand, which is to me a wholly new experience of them. I had a close set-to of three hours last Friday morning with one of their leading teachers here....I hope in this way I may keep it up, for it is exactly the kind of work which I most long for, but which only a short time since seemed so difficult, almost impossible to attain. It is, however, as you may imagine, terrible work arguing on the Trinity and such-like subjects in Hindostanee....Still I believe we must meet them on such ground and try to draw them on...."<sup>1</sup>

Gradually however the discussions became more controversial in nature, momentarily returning to the debate pattern of Pfander. Such was no longer desired by either Muslim or Christian representatives and the dialogue broke off. Recognizing the presence of Muslim inquirers, Lefroy realized a more positive presentation was necessary. Thus in later tent-sessions, he spoke gently about "the position which Jesus Christ occupied in our respective systems".<sup>2</sup> Convinced that "proclamation" must replace "polemic", Lefroy's approach shows definite maturity. At a public discussion near Delhi (May 12, 1892) with representatives of Islam, Hinduism and Jainism, he was careful to avoid debate or attack on other religions and simply to present the Gospel. Such discussions he felt could at best help prepare listeners for their search for faith, and eventual turning to Christ. It is to be noted that by the turn of the century much of the argumentative spirit in Christian-Muslim relationships in India had disappeared.

The maturing Lefroy sought to remove certain misconceptions concerning Islam within the Church which acted as barriers to effective mission work. There were two extremes to be avoided. Archbishop (Benson) of Canterbury spoke of the glory of Muslim ethics, character building, etc. and these were picked up by Muslim

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 69f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 73f.



newspapers in India to support their case. T. Williams of Rewari, upset by this, wrote a pamphlet attacking the character of Muhammad and this stirred the Punjab. Lefroy took up the pen to offer a more balanced reply countering the dangers of both extremes.<sup>1</sup> In two later papers on Islam (1894 and 1907), Lefroy revealed the results of his studies and experiences. In the first, an "Occasional Paper", he speaks sympathetically of the truths found in Islam regarding One God, resurrection and revelation. Islam has however distorted the true Revelation of the Bible:

"Nowhere have light and darkness been so interwoven the one with the other. Nowhere have high truths of God and man been so clearly stated, and yet at the same time so neutralized in their practical effect, if not perverted to evil results, by the admixture of falsehood in its system."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the failure to give just treatment to the person and work of Christ, Islam is weak in: its metaphysical treatment of God; the arbitrary character of Quranic morality; the low estimate of paradise; and Muhammad's abuse of women and power. In a second paper directed at those who were beginning to stress "ethical experience" over "revealed doctrine", Lefroy offers warning in an appreciative note on Islam:

"...a need of our own time is met when it is shown on a large scale of human life that a truth about God lies at the base of one of the strongest social and political structures which the world has ever seen, and that this strength and power is due rather to a religious truth than to any maxims of practical morality. It is the knowledge of God which lies at the base of human life and gives strength to human society."<sup>3</sup>

He then goes on to speak of the needs of Islam and of the essence of the Christian message. Lefroy at maturity combines sympathetic study of Islam with dedicated effort to communicate the Gospel. He presents Anglican efforts at their best in pre-War India.

While both Allnutt and Lefroy agreed that education could be the handmaiden

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>3</sup>"The Attempt to Estimate the Contribution of Great Races to the Fulness of the Church of God," in Mankind and the Church written by seven bishops and edited by H. H. Montgomery (London, 1907).

of evangelism, they differed in their methodology. Allnutt stressed natural religion, "man's need" of revelation, eliciting the student's opinion and urging him to quest for the truth. He combined the more liberal policies of education with Pfander's emphasis on reason, e.g. "True Religion". Lefroy emphasized the fact that the revealed knowledge of God must be communicated via a solid curriculum and committed teacher. While concerned that there might be a full and free human response, he gave attention to O.T. history and the N.T. message regarding the person and work of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

A "church-oriented" approach to Muslims increasingly occupied Lefroy's mind. Working among the Chumars, a poor class of leather workers near Delhi, he saw how a "vital community in Christ" was needed for the transformation of converts. He took issue with easy requirements for membership and helped set a demarcation line which meant the end of caste and use of drugs, the observance of Sunday and worship, and a new life of holiness and service. The Christian community must be truly indigenous and independent, a refuge especially to converts from Islam, and a force in every area of secular life.<sup>2</sup> Two of the greatest barriers to the achievement of this, contended Lefroy, were the burdensome "machinery" of the Mission and the unhealthy popular association of the Church with the British government.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the organizational complexities of the Mission Station system and the Church frequently appear to be more of a handicap to work among Muslims than those barriers existing within India's environment!

As third Bishop of Lahore (1899-1912), Lefroy became concerned with the witness of the "whole community" of Christ. Having an aversion to "one-man rule" he strengthened the Bishop's representative Council. Aware of the impact made by

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<sup>1</sup>Montgomery, Lefroy, pp. 22f., 25, 42-45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 19ff, 77.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 20, 90.

European Christians in India, he calls for new levels of Christian purity, attitudes and practice. He openly attacks the British "racial" prejudices, gambling and the neglect of the Lord's Day. He urges the Church to take the lead in the young national movements of India.<sup>1</sup> Something of Lefroy's "concreteness" may be seen in a letter he sent to his fellow-bishops regarding the life of the young Church (1908). First, he calls for united action with Presbyterians, Methodists, etc. in every possible area of the Church's life and mission. Second, regarding present political unrest, the Church must admit it is "responsible for this awakening in India", identify herself with these "national hopes and aspirations" and work for their sane realization. Third, the National Missionary Society of India under its Secretary V. S. Azariah (later an Anglican bishop) represents the secret to the evangelization of India's millions. Fourth, attacking Britain's half-hearted efforts, he calls for Christian action to block the opium trade. Fifth, an Indian Church Weekly paper and other literature are needed for Muslim and other inquirers.<sup>2</sup>

In an address at the Cairo Conference (1906), Lefroy lists the qualifications of an evangelist to Muslims: a mastery of Arabic, the Quran and Islam's theological classics; patience and fairness in discussion; a sympathetic attitude able to lead the Muslim from the truth he knows to Christ, the Truth; a readiness to discard the controversial method of past centuries; and a spirit of "hope". Reflecting on the change in attitude and approach, he notes:

"Most of the older controversial literature on the Christian side is... very hard indeed, as though intended to confute the enemy than to win the disguised friend. Similarly much of our preaching seems to me rather as

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. George Lefroy, Sweeps and Bridge, Being two sermons preached by the Bishop of Lahore in Christ Church, Simla, August 13 and 20, 1905 (London, 1906) and Montgomery, Lefroy, pp. 130ff, 158ff.

<sup>2</sup>Montgomery, Lefroy, pp. 174-178.



though we were hoping to convert men by throwing brick-bats at them in the form of truth."<sup>1</sup>

Lefroy saw the dawning of a new day in Christian apologetics and evangelism to Muslims. This would find fuller development in W. H. T. Gairdner and his successors. For while it must be acknowledged that Christians must ever be ready to give answer for their faith, the twentieth century brought with it an improved spirit in Christian-Muslim relations. Apologetics would be re-clothed in the terminology and spirit of that new age. Nevertheless Anglicans in India had made a distinct contribution in the development from a medieval to a modern Christian apologetic to Muslims.

to penetrate and eventually overthrow the native religions and to transform culture. This idea was borrowed and adapted by Anglicans, American Presbyterians, and others as well as continued by Scottish Presbyterians. Third, this concept of education underwent considerable modification under some educators whereby it became simply a public service or State-subsidized benevolence rendered for the enlightenment of a people. Some educators optimistically held that education was the means for hastening the "new world of progress" which must evolve. The increased government control over the colleges via the "university affiliation" scheme in India also pressured Christian institutions to neutralise their emphasis on biblical instruction and evangelism. Fourth, the first major reaction came (ca. 1854) within the ranks of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) when Secretary Anderson stressed the indigenous church (three selves concept). He insisted that "Christian" schools should exist for the building up of Church. Sharp differences of opinion were soon voiced. The Wesleyan Methodists became most critical of the third view above and after a "controversy" (1890), restricted their work to "village schools" and the indigenous Vernacular idea of building the native church. Another reaction was

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Methods of Missionary Work Among Moslems, (New York, 1906), pp. 225ff.

to develop his own peculiar brand of evangelism. He in turn was answered by

THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN CONTRIBUTION: WITH REFERENCE TO DEVELOPMENTS  
IN THE EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

The Scots contributed significantly to the educational approach to Muslims. Developments in educational work can be observed in the following stages and views. First, there was the concept of the village school as a means for instructing men to read the Word. It could be called the "pre-Duff" idea of "personal evangelism via education". Second, came the almost revolutionary concept of Duff to use higher education to penetrate and eventually overthrow the native religions and to transform culture. This idea was borrowed and adapted by Anglicans, American Presbyterians, and others as well as continued by Scottish Presbyterians. Third, this concept of education underwent considerable modification under some educators whereby it became simply a public service or disinterested benevolence rendered for the enlightenment of a people. Some educators optimistically held that education was the means for hastening the "new world of progress" which must evolve. The increased government control over the colleges via the "university affiliation" scheme in India also pressured Christian institutions to neutralize their emphasis on biblical instruction and evangelism. Fourth, the first major reaction came (ca. 1854) within the ranks of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) when Secretary Anderson stressed the indigenous church (three selves concept). He insisted that "Christian" schools should exist for the building up of Church! Sharp differences of opinion were soon voiced. The Wesleyan Methodists became most critical of the third view above and after a "controversy" (1890), restricted their work to "village schools" and the Anderson-Venn idea of training the native church. Another reaction was seen in J. N. Farquhar a Scottish teacher who turned Y.M.C.A. secretary in order to develop his own peculiar brand of evangelism. He in turn was answered by

A. G. Hogg, a Scotsman, who defended the modified educational-evangelistic approach of Duff and Christian Colleges. This leads right up to the twentieth century crisis in theology and missions when the above views all faced a reckoning. It must be noted that independent colleges such as those founded by Christian missionaries in Constantinople, Beirut, and Cairo are uniquely Near Eastern phenomena and are not found in India. These developments deserve fuller treatment.

### Pre-Duff Education in India

Efforts in education in India prior to Duff's arrival (1830) were rather limited. British rulers before William Bentinck often preferred to keep "the ruled" as they were. The Serampore Baptists had done the most noteworthy pioneering. Marshman and his wife not only sketched a plan for evangelizing India with Christian schools, but planted a number of boys' and girls' schools near Calcutta. They convinced Henry Martyn and C.M.S. workers of the validity of this method.<sup>1</sup> Carey was awakened to this idea also and accepted appointment at the Fort Williams College until the Baptists founded their own Christian College (1818). Marshman even helped Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore to produce several struggling vernacular schools about 1816. The Hindu College, founded in Calcutta (1817) under the joint auspices of individual Englishmen and Hindus, failed because its neutral religious position soon became virtually anti-religious (influenced by the works of Hume, Paine, etc.) which alarmed both Muslims and Hindus.

As noted, the Anglican chaplains began a few schools in outlying areas in order to reach Eurasian and English offspring. C.M.S. began to form elementary village schools, but the earliest of these made no effort to be Christian lest it alarm the natives. The reading of Christian Scriptures and English in a central "Anglo-Vernacular" school was first introduced by Captain Stewart and John Perowne

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<sup>1</sup>Stewart, "Henry Martyn and Serampore," p. 15.



at Burden. By 1822, C.M.S. reported "The Gospels are now read in all the schools." By the entering of this "thin wedge", village education was now acclaimed as a handmaiden of evangelism.<sup>1</sup> With the arrival of Miss M. A. Cooke at Calcutta (1820), resistance to single women teachers declined and the application of these principles to girls' schools also took effect. It would remain however for Alexander Duff to make the "mission school" the popular channel of missionary work, the agency for confronting the "best" of India with the revolutionary Gospel of Christ. But how was it that the Scots came to India?

Scottish Missionary work began only after overcoming great opposition at home. The Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland influenced by the Wesleys, Whitefield and Carey, by the new interest in lands abroad (e.g. Cook's explorations, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations) and by renewed concern for the common man (cf. Burn's poems, Scott's novels) became alerted to the task of the Church's mission. Their proposal for a Church Mission was defeated by the Moderates in 1796 and was not passed until the Assembly of 1824. In the meanwhile, the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Scottish (Edinburgh) Missionary Society formed (1796) and began to act in spite of the charge of "sedition" and threat of prosecution. Missionaries were sent to West Africa, to Karass near the Caspian Sea to work with Muslims and Orthodox Christians (1800), to Concan in South India (1823-4) and then to Bombay (1829) and Poona. (Most of the Societies' personnel transferred to the Church of Scotland Mission Society in 1835). At the same time, many courageous voices spoke out at home.<sup>2</sup> James Bryce, the first Scottish chaplain to India

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<sup>1</sup> Compare this to the C.M.S. Report of 1817 on the school at Kidderpore: "It is under the care of the missionaries, but is not likely to alarm prejudice, as the schoolmaster is not a Christian." Once the idea of "missionary educational evangelism" had been accepted, however, many praised it as the instrumentality by which Muslim, Hindu and other converts could be drawn into the Church. Cf. Stock, History of C.M.S., I, 194-196.

<sup>2</sup> For example cf. Grenville Ewing, "Defence of Missions from Christian Societies to the Heathen World: A Sermon Preached before the Edinburgh Missionary Society, February 2, 1797," (Edinburgh, 1804) and D. Mackichan, The Missionary

played a decisive role by his writing and the scheme proposed to the Assembly of 1824.<sup>1</sup> John Inglis, Thomas Chalmers and others helped give form to a concept of "evangelism through a system of Christian education" which Duff would initiate. Earlier Scottish schools in Western India founded by Robert Nesbit, J. Murray Mitchell and John Wilson had up to this time followed the vernacular village school pattern.<sup>2</sup>

### The Educational Ideas and Activity of Alexander Duff

Alexander Duff (1806-1878), the first official missionary of the Church of Scotland to India (1829) and after the Disruption (1843) a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, exercised a revolutionary influence on missions by his idea of evangelism via education. Although his activity was more among Hindus than Muslims in Bengal, he must be examined as the figure introducing the educational approach used among the Muslims of India. Duff considered himself an "evangelist" in the fullest sense and exerted an immense influence during his years in India (1829-35, 1839-50, 1855-63) as well as those in his homeland.<sup>3</sup>

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Ideal in the Scottish Churches (London, 1927) pp. 68ff. For a fine bibliography on Scottish missions cf. Elizabeth G. K. Hewat, Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches united in the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1960).

<sup>1</sup>Cf. James Bryce, A Sketch of the State of British India: with a View of Pointing out the Best Means of Civilizing its inhabitants, and diffusing the Knowledge of Christianity throughout the Eastern World (Edinburgh, 1810).

<sup>2</sup>By 1827 there were some 80 small schools with some 3,000 pupils in Western India. Cf. Hewat, Vision and Achievement, p. 43. Two books by J. Murray Mitchell are of interest: Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland (London, 1858) and In Western India, Recollections of My Early Missionary Life (Edinburgh, 1899).

<sup>3</sup>Basic sources are the writings of Duff plus George Smith, The Life of Alexander Duff (2 vols, London, 1879); W. P. Duff, Memorials of Alexander Duff, D.D., (London, 1890); Lal Behari Day, Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., and of the Mission College which He founded at Calcutta (London, 1879); Wm. Paton, Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education (London, 1923); and Thomas Smith, Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D. (London, 1883).

Certain aspects of Duff's approach deserve acknowledgement. First, Duff held that education and evangelism must go together. Arriving in Calcutta, Duff surveyed the existing missionary methods only to find that vernacular preaching and village schools were drawing converts (some score at the time) only from the lower classes leaving the whole superstructure of Indian society untouched. His plan was to establish an "English" School/College in Calcutta which would shake the whole social structure. Duff later defended this attempt to win the "more enlightened upper classes" in a speech before the General Assembly of the Free Church (1850):

"Were our Church alone the Church of Christ in this land, were missionary operations confined to us, I would then desire to see our Church diverting some of her present strength from teaching to the more direct preaching of the Word. But in looking on all the various sections combined as forming the Church of Christ, and in seeing others engaged in preaching, is it not a sufficient answer to objectors to say that both means are necessary and that we by teaching are supplementing what is wanting in their system? But there is a reason of greater weight still, and that is what our young friend from Madras [Rajahgopal, visiting Scotland] has well pointed out. The mere preaching of the Word would not have reached the vast majority of the people. The better classes will not attend the preaching of the missionary; the only way in which they can be reached is by the agency of such Institutions as those of the Free Church...."<sup>1</sup>

Beyond that, education was needed lest converts be left to degenerate into "mongrel" Christians as had those baptized by Xavier and the Jesuits.<sup>2</sup> It was essential to the growth and elevation of the indigenous Church.

Second, Duff saw educational missionary work as the means for penetrating, transforming Indian society with the Gospel and for overthrowing the native religions. Education was never "bait"; but a dynamic force, a preparatio evangelica. A biographer captures the presupposition behind Duff's vigorous activity:

"The whole world of reality, fact and idea, was God's; Christ was the centre of it and the key to its mysteries; and it was his privilege to

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<sup>1</sup>G. Smith, Duff, II, 186.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 239.



introduce his pupils to the world that God had made and to help them to understand both the variety of its outer manifestation and the inner soul and meaning of it all. Education therefore was not a thing extraneous to the missionary's purpose, but of its essence."<sup>1</sup>

Duff's idea of an "English" school met opposition from the "orientalists", the government and missionary educators who insisted on the vernacular. Even James Bryce complained that "English" was too attached to the tavern and rogue crowd of Calcutta. Duff and other "Anglicists" argued that it was the only medium which could transcend the several hundred Indian languages and dialects to form a new society; that English literature was the reservoir of much Christian teaching; and that the popular demand for English would carry the day. Duff gained unexpected support from Carey and Ram Mohun Roy.<sup>2</sup> Because of his basic presupposition, Duff's educational program was to be Christian in every phase. There was to be daily study and expounding of the Bible and the teaching of every variety of "useful knowledge" (history, literature, logic, philosophy, natural and other sciences). The Christian religion was not only to be the foundation of all knowledge but the animating spirit pervading and hallowing all.<sup>3</sup>

Duff's target was nothing less than the penetration of the culture of India with the truths and spirit of the Christian faith. This Faith was not to be compartmentalized either in the curriculum or within the structures of society and life. The explosive force of the Gospel must be unleashed. Duff wrote (1840):

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<sup>1</sup>Paton, Duff, pp. 227f.

<sup>2</sup>Some held that if Ram Mohun Roy, the Erasmus of India, had met Duff forty years earlier he would have been the Luther of India. Roy saw the Christian religion as a "regenerative force" and English as a doorway to Western learning and science. He founded the Brahmo Samaj which taught the worship of one supreme eternal God. It was he who urged Duff's first students to study the Bible: "Read and judge for yourselves. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion, which you may resist if you choose, constitutes you yourselves judges of the contents of the book". Cf. G. Smith, Duff, I, 121ff, 219ff; Paton Duff, pp. 63ff; Stock, History of the C.M.S., I, 305.

<sup>3</sup>G. Smith, Duff, I, 109f.

"In this way we thought not of individuals merely; we looked to the masses. Spurning the notion of a present day's success, and a present year's wonder, we directed our view not merely to the present but to future generations.... While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms from the mass as the stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances [preaching, etc.] can admit, we shall, with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths."<sup>1</sup>

Duff's method was to present "useful knowledge" (Western science) so closely integrated with the Christian faith as to undermine both native religions and the new agnosticism. He chose the educational approach over the direct in order to avoid unnecessary antagonism. His long-range goal was the gradual overthrowing of Hinduism, Islam, etc. and the preparation for acceptance of the Christian faith. India, he felt, would be won for Christ through the leadership of her own sons, highly educated, equipped to influence the masses. Yet from the viewpoint of the twentieth century, Duff's study of Hinduism, India and India Missions (1839) was unsympathetic, an "assault" on other religions.<sup>2</sup> Duff was equally concerned that the new agnosticism should be thwarted. Education devoid of spiritual direction was no panacea for the world's ills.

"From the circulation of European literature and science, but wholly exclusive of morality and religion, the young illuminati, too wise to continue the dupes and slaves of an irrational and monstrous superstition, do, it is admitted, openly enlist themselves in the ranks of infidelity.

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in G. Smith, Duff, I, 108f.

<sup>2</sup>Duff's attitude to non-Christian religion is suggested by his comments on Hinduism in India and India Missions: "It is nothing else than a stupendous superstructure raised upon this one grand central principle as its foundation-stone, namely; the principle of exclusive self-reliance, exclusive self-righteousness....all circulate forever around the grand central, but false and detestable principle that man, though fallen and sinful, may work out by his own unaided strength a title to the divine favour, a right to celestial rewards or to supreme beatitude." (p. 273) or again "All your own learning we consider as teeming with error; all your religion as false; all your gods as monsters of wickedness. We have come hither, therefore to 'overturn, overturn, overturn,' the whole." (pp. 536f) Although Duff expressed his love for the people of India, there was none to be lost on India's religions.

Here, then is a new power which threatens soon to become more formidable than idolatry itself. Already it has begun to display some of its ghastly features...."<sup>1</sup>

Duff prepared his curriculum to achieve his goals. He wrote his own "graduated school books" called "Instructors" which blended grammatical exercises, useful knowledge and religious-biblical lessons. Believing that all truth was one in God, he could mix science, literature and religion and apply the discoveries of the West to the East. Enrollment in Duff's School surged into the hundreds and his off-campus lectures on "Natural and Revealed Religions" turned the city into an uproar. Yet the popularity of his work did not cease. By 1835, his institution reached college status with courses in Bible, natural and revealed religions, philosophy and the sciences. After the Disruption in Scotland (1843), Duff founded a second college (Free Church) in Calcutta. Fortunately the demand for higher education permitted both Free and Established Church colleges to prosper.<sup>2</sup>

Four results of Duff's work can be tabulated. First, the limited number of converts won in his colleges became leaders for Church and mission in North India.<sup>3</sup> Duff was most anxious that the Church of Scotland should train and ordain young men for the ministry.<sup>4</sup> Yet when the young presbyterian Church and its ministry took shape (1841), the tendency was to retain the authority in

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Paton, Duff, p. 66. Also cf. India and India Missions, pp. 426ff.

<sup>2</sup>The Church of Scotland College and Duff College (Free Church) were merged in 1908 to form the Scottish Churches College. By that date these institutions had reached thousands of students.

<sup>3</sup>Examples of the caliber of these converts are: Mohesh Chunder Ghose (baptized August 28, 1832), Krishna Moham Banerjea (baptized Oct. 17, 1832, later C.M.S. teacher and Anglican minister), Gopinath Nuni (baptized Dec. 14, 1832, later Presbyterian minister), and Anundo Chund Mozumdar (baptized April 21, 1833). Other Muslim converts baptized by Duff and Ewart included Muhammad Bakar (December 1850), Ele Bua (early 1851), and Maulavi Abdulla (August, 1851). Cf. Julius Richter, A History of Missions in India, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup>G. Smith, Duff, I, 280-83.



a "Missionary Council" rather than to transfer it to Presbytery. The case of Lal Behari Day (ordained 1856) demonstrates the unreadiness of both home church and its missionaries to grant the young church power for "decision-making". Even Duff's letter of 1877 holds out "self-support" as a prerequisite to transfer of authority.<sup>1</sup> In spite of, perhaps because of, this particular weakness, Duff lived to see his graduates engaged in mission work in North India. They served as teachers, ministers and catechists with C.M.S., American and Scottish Presbyterians in the evangelization of Muslims in Simla, Lahore, Karachi, etc.<sup>2</sup> Second, Duff made many indirect contributions to India. Higher education in English gave India a unifying common language, the benefits of Western science, an awareness of nationhood, and a sprinkling of Christian ideas. Duff helped create a "day of rest" for Indian employees in Calcutta's factories. He helped unleash a "liberal outlook" with its mixed blessings:

"We rejoiced when we came in contact with a rising body of Indians who had learnt to think and to discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom, though that freedom was ever apt to degenerate into license in attempting to demolish the claims and pretensions of the Christian as well as of every other professedly revealed faith. We hailed the circumstance, as indicating the approach of a period for which we had waited and longed and prayed. We hailed it as heralding the dawn of an auspicious era--an era that introduced something new into the hitherto undisturbed reign of a horary, and tyrannous antiquity."<sup>3</sup>

Indeed Duff was later to observe that India's religious convulsion produced not only Christian Congregations but also resurgent and reform groups in other religions,<sup>4</sup> Some of these were hostile to Christian endeavors, others sympathetic. Aware of this risk, Duff and John Wilson fought hard however to secure the right

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<sup>1</sup>Day, Recollections, pp. 210ff, esp. 241f.

<sup>2</sup>G. Smith, Duff, I, 454f, 476f; II, 122f.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in Ibid., I, 145.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. standard work of J. N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India (New York, 1915).

of free conscience in religion and the retention of property for converts in the "Regulation of 1832".<sup>1</sup> By higher education, civil service was opened to trained Indians (1854) and Duff's stress on "useful knowledge" helped usher in the age of technology.<sup>2</sup> Third, Duff initiated a new "educational method" soon adopted by almost all the missionary societies in India.<sup>3</sup>

Fourth, Duff stimulated increased government action in education. The Charter of 1813 had a clause providing funds to revive and improve literature and education in British-held India. But it was the action of the Mission Societies which stirred fuller governmental implementation. Duff's popular work resulted in the resolution known as the "Macaulay's Minute" (1835) promoting modern European education, literature and science via the English medium in the government's schools.<sup>4</sup> Again Duff's testimony before committees of Parliament helped bring about a new "Educational Charter for India" (1854) which provided for governmental universities with which Christian colleges could affiliate and for "grants-in-aid" to the latter. Strangely enough, this development put pressure upon the very Mission Colleges Duff sought to help and greatly modified the theory of "evangelism via higher education" he promoted.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this unforeseen weakness, Duff remains one of India's greatest Christian educators.

Fuller comprehension of Duff's approach may be gained by a perusal of his

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<sup>1</sup>G. Smith, Duff, I, 251f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 61ff. and Paton, Duff, pp. 206f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Stock, History of the C.M.S., I, 304f. and Paton, Duff, pp. 59f.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Neill, History of Christian Missions, pp. 274f and A. Mayhew, The Education of India (London, 1926) pp. 10ff.

<sup>5</sup>G. Smith, Duff, II, 245.

literary output.<sup>1</sup> His contributions to his home church, interdenominational cooperation, medical work, "female education", etc., unfortunately lie beyond the scope of this study. Duff's willingness to try new methods to render more effective witness to Christ gained the admiration of several generations of missionaries.<sup>2</sup>

### The Extension, Criticism and Modification of the Ideas of Duff

#### Adoption and Adaptation

The educational theory of Duff was adopted and adapted not only by Anglicans (French, Lefroy, Allnutt) and the American Presbyterians (Newton, Forman, Ewing) but continued and expanded by the Free Church Mission in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and the Punjab. At Bombay, John Wilson (1804-1875), a graduate of Edinburgh University, worked with Christian schools (1829). Wilson put more value on vernacular tongues than Duff yet used English and every other means to communicate the Gospel. In his forty years in India, he befriended Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Jews and Negroes and led several hundred to Christ. In addition to organizing a Presbyterian Church in Bombay, he founded many schools and a College named after him. In the 1830s, even prior to Pfander, Wilson was engaged in "Public

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<sup>1</sup>Duff began the Calcutta Christian Observer and contributed to the Friend of India (edited by J. Marshman, 1835-1852, M. Townsend, 1852-1859, and George Smith, 1859-1875). He helped John Kaye start the Calcutta Review in 1844 and acted for a time as editor. His ideas are set forth in India and India Missions (Edinburgh, 1839); Speech Before Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1835 in Missionary Addresses (Edinburgh, 1850); Missions the Chief End of the Christian Church... (Edinburgh, 1839); Proposed Modes of extending the Foreign Mission Operations of the Free Church of Scotland, with an Appeal for Increase of Means and more fervent Prayer (before the Assembly of 1865 and other addresses....) (Edinburgh, 1872); Evangelistic Theology (Edinburgh, 1868); and The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results (London, 1858) which contains some 25 letters to Dr. Tweedie on the Mutiny.

<sup>2</sup>For example cf. Paton, Duff, pp. 213-215



Discussions" with leaders of other religions.<sup>1</sup> Wilson's encounters with Muslims are of interest, especially his confrontation with Haji Muhammad Hashim:

"Hadjee Mahomed Hashim of Ispahan, who, as his name shows had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was the most learned Moulvi in Bombay challenged me to the proof of the licentiousness and imposture of the author of the Koran, and I readily attempted to establish my position. After several letters had appeared in the native newspapers, the Hadjee came forward with a pamphlet of considerable size in Goojaratee and Persian, in which he evinces at once great sophistry and great ability."<sup>2</sup>

Wilson's response was a booklet: "Reply to Hadjee Mahomed Hashim's Defence of the Islamic Faith" (Persian, Bombay, 1836) with twenty-one condensed chapters criticizing the moral irregularities and shortcomings in Muhammad's Quran and private life. Here is a blend of medieval polemics and scholarship (prior to Muir's biography of the Prophet). Inadequate as it was, it received wide distribution. Wilson managed to reach a number of Muslims: baptizing a fakir (Oct. 1833), touring extensively in the North to distribute Scriptures,<sup>3</sup> befriending Dost Muhammad dethroned Afghan ruler and heir-apparent Prince Haider-Khan, and defending Muslims following the Mutiny (1857-1872). Haji Ghulam Hyder (baptized Haji Ghulam Mashiah, July 25, 1852) of the Sindh was but one of the converts who would help interest the Scots in a fuller work in the North. The baptism of Wazir Beg, teacher of the Poona School (Sept. 24, 1847) and of Mikhail Joseph of Bombay caused no small stir. The latter toured Arabia, Mokha, Sana, etc. (1862) selling several hundred Scriptures enroute.<sup>4</sup> Wilson's educational principles

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. the English versions of Wilson's Exposure of the Hindoo Religion (Bombay, ca. 1832); A Second Exposure of the Hindoo Religion (Bombay, 1834); The Doctrine of Jehovah addressed to the Parsis: A Sermon preached on the occasion of the Baptism of two youths of that Tribe, May, 1839 (Edinburgh, 1847); and The Parsi Religion: as Contained in the Zand-Avasta (Bombay, 1843).

<sup>2</sup>George Smith, The Life of John Wilson (London, 1878), pp. 113ff. Other information is found in John Wilson, A Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson (Edinburgh, 1838).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. John Wilson, Narrative of a Missionary Journey in Gujerat and Cutch (Bombay, 1838) and The Darkness and the Dawn in India (1853).

<sup>4</sup>Robert Hunter, History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa (London, 1873), pp. 233, 260, 264.

were in basic agreement with Duff. In brief, it may be said that the prime difference was Wilson's more sympathetic attention to the languages, religions and culture of India in hopes that these concepts could be "adapted" rather than simply replaced.<sup>1</sup> Wilson maintained close contact with the government college (Elphinstone College) and drew a number of its students into his "Catechumen School" and the thriving young church (e.g. Syud Hussan Medinyeh, bapt. 1856).

The Free Church institution at Nagpur was founded by Stephen Hislop (1817-1863) in 1844. Hislop's varied talents contributed to education, governmental reform, scientific discovery, anthropology and linguistics. Hislop College (1883), affiliated with the University of Calcutta, would later be the scene for T. W. Gardiner's creative efforts to draw Muslims and Hindus into Christian worship.<sup>2</sup>

The Central Institution at Madras (1837), founded by the trio, Anderson, Johnston and Braidwood, had a long stormy passage before it emerged as Madras Christian College. In 1853 the schools about Madras included some 327 Muslims. The baptism of the first Muslim converts (1853) aroused great opposition until the Supreme Court affirmed the individual's right to change his religion (August, 1854). Two of these, Abdool Ali and Abdool Khader, became fiery evangelists attracting great crowds at Madras, Nellore and Triplicane. Their courageous preaching coupled with the work of the schools gradually opened the way for other

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<sup>1</sup>For these educational principles and his attitude to culture, religions, cf. The Evangelization of India (Edinburgh, 1849); Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries of Western India (Bombay, 1850); The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1847); History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India (Bombay, 1855); and his Grammar and Exercise books for Marathi. Also cf. Paton, Duff, pp. 210f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. George Smith, Stephen Hislop, Pioneer Missionary and Naturalist in Central India from 1844 to 1863 (London, 1889) and Hewat, Vision and Achievement pp. 102-113. Also cf. T. W. Gardiner: A House of Prayer for all Nations; The Nagpur Mission of the Church of Scotland, 1845-1945; and Hislop College; Diamond Jubilee, 1883-1945.

converts from Islam.<sup>1</sup> The Madras College received new vitality in 1862 with the arrival of William Miller (1838-1923) and its establishment as the interdenominational Madras Christian College when the C.M.S. and Wesleyans joined forces with the Scottish Free Church (1887).<sup>2</sup>

#### Scots in North India: Modifications

All three Scottish Churches: the Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the United Presbyterians extended their work northwards after the Disruption (1843).<sup>3</sup> The effort of the Church of Scotland around Sialkot is of special importance because of its contribution to educational work in the midst of Muslims.<sup>4</sup> The Punjab work was begun by Thomas Hunter (1827-1857) in 1856. While serving in Bombay, Hunter baptized two Muslim converts: Nasrullah (July 28, 1856) and Saiyid Mohamet Ismael (August 21, 1856). The latter was to help lead the way north (ordained 1869). It is important to note that Hunter was against simply beginning another educational program at Sialkot. He reflects the feeling of a group of evangelists (perhaps influenced by R. Anderson of A.B.C.F.M.) who felt education

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<sup>1</sup>Esp. cf. John Braidwood, True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field: The Life and Labours of the Rev. John Anderson and the Rev. Robert Johnston (London, 1862), pp. 490, 525ff, 538ff, et passim.

<sup>2</sup>Hewat, Vision and Achievement, p. 89f.

<sup>3</sup>The Free Church and United Presbyterians (merged as the United Free Church, 1900) worked mainly in Rajputana (1860-) giving much attention to Christian medicine and service. Cf. Our Church's Work in India: The Story of the Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland in Bengal, Santalia, Bombay, Rajputana, and Madras (Edinburgh, n.d.). It is to be noted that with the further merger of the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland in 1929, the bulk of Scottish work in India came under one authority.

<sup>4</sup>Basic sources include: J. F. W. Youngson, Forty Years of the Punjab Mission of the Church of Scotland, 1855-1895 (Edinburgh, 1896); One Hundred Years of Growth: A Brief History of the Work of the Church of Scotland in the Punjab (Sialkot, 1957); H. F. L. Taylor, In the Land of the Five Rivers; A Sketch of the Work of the Church of Scotland in the Panjab (Edinburgh, 1906); Foreign Mission Committee Reports, 1901-1956, Church of Scotland (General Assembly Reports); R. W. Weir, Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1900); and Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 115-126.



was dominating too much of Scottish work. Hunter wrote:

"April 2, 1856...Permit me...to give a sketch of a plan of operation... to further the cause of Christ in the Panjab. Of course the conversion of souls, not the education of the young, is the Church's design in sending her ministers to India. The time was when education was the only means open to our Church, and with praiseworthy zeal have we lavished large sums in preparing--simply preparing--ground for the reception of good seed, for educated men do listen to, and reason on, Bible truth....If you still propose entrusting me with the Church's work in the Panjab, I should propose that no educational institution be formed, but that I should be as one of the natives, never resting until I have thoroughly mastered the language and customs of the country,...to proclaim the great salvation directly, faithfully, fearlessly. Afterwards native Christians might quietly collect a small school; but never employ heathen teachers. A small earnest machinery, then, will be sufficient in the establishment of this mission. I am perfectly willing to go alone, and commence the work."<sup>1</sup>

Arriving in Sialkot, Hunter did give "proclamation" priority before he and his family were killed in the Mutiny (1857). But as work was restarted, John Taylor, Robert Paterson, and Mohamet Ismael modified Hunter's policy and began an Anglo-vernacular school (1860). Other schools opened at Wazirabad, in Sialkot's suburbs and in Gujrat. By 1896, there were 3 high schools, 6 middle schools and 50 primary schools. Many of the converts from Muslim and upper class background had earlier mission school training.<sup>2</sup> By 1868, the Central Sialkot School enrolled 320 boys. By 1896, it and the College founded in 1889 listed 600 students. Murray College (so named 1909), continued to expand under its first principal, J. W. Youngson. In addition to Mission support and student fees, the College benefited from the government "grant-in-aid" scheme which Parliament passed in the 1850s at Duff's urging. Shams-ul-Ulema Maulvi Mir Hassan served as professor of Arabic for 61 years and the former students included Muhammad Iqbal, national poet and philosopher of Pakistan. By the twentieth century, only a minority of faculty and students were Christian.<sup>3</sup> It would then share problems similar to

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<sup>1</sup>Youngson, Punjab Mission, pp. 78f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>3</sup>For fuller details cf. R. C. Thomas, "Annual Report, 1963-64," in Murray College Magazine, April, 1964 and Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 124.

those known at Edwardes College, Peshawar (Anglican); Forman College, Lahore; Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore; and Gordon College, Rawalpindi (United Presbyterian, U.S.A. Colleges). These colleges would find that the shortage of overseas and national Christian faculty, limited mission and church funds, increased curriculum requirements and government control would make it difficult to maintain a Christian content and spirit on campus. Increased political activity would further limit campus evangelism and required Bible courses. Nevertheless, Murray College sought to find a new role for a new age in a land desperately needing education.<sup>1</sup>

"Proclamation" was not neglected however. Tours by Taylor, Youngson, Mohamet Ismael and numerous other Indian evangelists soon led to the establishment of centers at Wazirabad (1860), Gujrat (1865), Chamba (1863), and Jammu (1884). The dynamic evangelism of William Ferguson at Chamba and the Chamba Church under Pastor Sohan Lah (1868) demonstrates the value of grassroots evangelism.<sup>2</sup> As will be seen, the Scots also developed programs of Christian medical work and service.<sup>3</sup> The Hunter Memorial Church at Sialkot (1865) with its core of Muslim converts included several teachers and an Assistant-surgeon. The beginning of a "Presbytery" took form in 1869 at Jalandar.<sup>4</sup> The Church's numbers began to swell rapidly about 1885 due to the mass movements. By 1896, 5000 out of the 20,000 Christians in the Punjab were in the Scottish Mission.<sup>5</sup> In 1904, the Scottish Presbyterian

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<sup>1</sup>The literacy rate for 1963 was set at 19.2%. cf. Pakistan, a Profile (Department of Films and Publications, Karachi, 1963).

<sup>2</sup>For fuller discussion cf. Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 116-119 and Youngson, Punjab Mission, pp. 143ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. below p. 125.

<sup>4</sup>For Taylor's plans of a Presbytery cf. Youngson, Punjab Mission, pp. 138f. For its actual development cf. Ibid., pp. 170ff.

<sup>5</sup>For this amazing growth cf. Ibid., pp. viii, 254ff, 290, and Hewat, Vision and Achievement, p. 119.

Church would join with the other Presbyterian Churches of the region to select Youngson as its first Moderator. In 1924, the United Presbyterian Church of the Punjab was joined by the Congregationalists to form the United Church of Northern India (UCNI).<sup>1</sup> The above details reveal that although the Scots were active contributors to an "educational approach" they were never confined to it.

Reaction: Exemplified by R. Anderson

Modifications in the educational approach begun by Duff soon brought reactions and criticism. Certain factors prompted review. First, success brought its own problems. Ever increasing enrollments soon meant a shortage of personnel and funds. Mission schools began to bring more and more non-Christian teachers onto their staffs and the character of the schools could not but change. Second, Duff unknowingly contributed to this change by encouraging Parliament to pass the Educational Charter of 1854 which founded regional governmental Universities, with which Christian colleges could affiliate, and "grants-in-aid". Both provisions aimed to help these colleges but in fact resulted in increased control over their curriculum and finances. Third, education and theology in the West were both undergoing a "liberalization" and this was felt more quickly in educational institutions than in the churches.

The reaction of Thomas Hunter has already been noted. He represented those who stressed "evangelism". More radical reaction took place in the work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The A.B.C.F.M. began work in India in 1812 and by 1851 had a growing church. Its schools enrolled some 1,700 pupils.<sup>2</sup> Its work at Kolhapur, begun in 1852 by R. G. Wilder, made extensive

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 121ff. and William Stewart, The Church is There, in North India (Edinburgh, 1966). This "united" history of the churches after 1904 will receive mention under the American Presbyterians.

<sup>2</sup>By 1912 the Congregationalists numbered 7,699 communicants and a total membership of 13,972. These later became part of the United Churches in North and South India. For resources on the early work of A.B.C.F.M., cf. Rufus Anderson,



use of the "educational approach". Secretary Rufus Anderson became convinced that the main object of mission was to form self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating indigenous churches. He began to question educational work which sought to elevate the whole of society and often ended in providing jobs for non-Christian teachers on mission funds. In 1854, Anderson headed up a Deputation to India which radically undercut such educational programs. Only those schools under Christian teachers and for Christian children or adults would henceforth warrant mission support! In short, mission schools must exist solely for building up the indigenous church. R. G. Wilder radically differed with Anderson and defended the operation of such schools for non-Christian children even when it necessitated use of non-Christian teachers. In Mission Schools in India (1861), he confesses little sympathy for those who "would limit our great commission to the oral proclamation of the Gospel, or on the other hand, to teaching it technically and only in the schoolroom". He argues that schools are necessary:

"to procure a stated audience;...to secure hearers from the more intelligent and better classes of the heathen community...; to remove ignorance and lay stable foundations...; to conciliate the favour of the heathen and convince them that the missionary seeks to benefit them."<sup>1</sup>

In short, they are the necessary opening wedge for reaching a "closed community". He defends his practice by quoting former Secretary Greene.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless Anderson broke with the policy espoused by Duff, Greene and as generally practiced by Protestant Societies in India. He hoped that a strictly Christian education (curriculum, teachers and students) might result in a trained Christian force which would in turn permeate society and win growing numbers into the Church. Wilder returned to Kolhapur (1861) to make that field "independent". Later he

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History of the Missions of the A.B.C.F.M. in India (Boston, 1874); S. C. Barlett, Missions of the A.B.C.F.M. in India and Ceylon (Boston, 1886); and W. E. Strong, The Story of the American Board (Boston, 1910).

<sup>1</sup>R. G. Wilder, Mission Schools in India of the A.B.C.F.M. (New York, 1861), pp. 20-33.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 34f.

turned the properties and work over to the Presbyterians of Ludhiana (1873) who continued a modified form of Duff's approach. This new policy of Anderson and the statement of Hunter disclose growing criticism of the educational approach

#### Later Criticism of Christian Higher Education

By the 1860s the criticism of "evangelism via higher education" increased. Especially under consideration were: the limited results, i.e. converts, the increasing number of non-Christian teachers, the tremendous operational costs, and the increased government control via affiliation with the Universities. Duff and others at home tried to remedy this, e.g. by limiting the portion of the budget spent on the colleges, etc. Perhaps one of the most telling criticisms of how Christian higher education had strayed from Duff's intent comes from Lal Behari Day, a former student of Duff's, an ordained minister who had served with the Free Church Mission and a professor of the government college of Hooghly. While pointing out Duff's failings regarding the Indian Church, he admired Duff's educational theory and practice. Day contended that the Free Church Institutions under Duff had attained an advanced level in both educational method and Christian spirit not yet acquired by Bengal colleges some thirty-five years later.

"The system of teaching adopted by Duff was somewhat different from the systems in vogue at the time in India. It was called by some the intellectual system, as its object from the beginning was the development of the intellectual powers of the pupil, however young, and not merely the communication of information. It was also sometimes called the Socratic or interrogatory system, as teaching was carried on chiefly by a series of questions .... Education he contended, is...the development of all its powers and susceptibilities, intellectual, moral, social, and religious. In most systems of education knowledge is communicated to the pupils. Duff did communicate knowledge; but before communicating, he brought out of his pupils whatever knowledge they had by a process of close questioning...."<sup>1</sup>

What Day criticized most in later mission schools was their neglect of the Christian content and objectives exhibited by Duff:

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<sup>1</sup>Day, Recollections, pp. 118ff.

"As the chief object of the General Assembly's Institution was to convert the students to Christianity, the course of studies pursued in it was thoroughly saturated with the spirit of that religion from lowest to the highest class. The very first Primer that was put into the hands of a boy learning the English alphabet contained some of the facts and doctrines of the Christian religion; and the course of studies was so regulated that his knowledge of Christianity increased in the same ratio with his knowledge of English: ....This was the case before the establishment of the Calcutta University, which institution, it must be confessed, has greatly affected the religious character of the missionary colleges. As missionaries prepare their students for the degrees of the University, they adopt the curriculum of studies prescribed by that learned body; they have, therefore, at present, less time for the Christian and theological training of their pupils than before; while the students themselves naturally pay little or no attention to those studies which do not pay in the University examinations. The state of things was different, however in the pre-university day of which I am now speaking. The students were in those days thoroughly grounded in a course of natural theology, a course in the evidences of Christianity, a course of systematic theology, a short course of ecclesiastical history, besides a course of lectures on almost the whole of the Holy Scriptures, from the book of Genesis to the Book of Revelation. In addition to these Christian appliances in the classroom, public lectures were delivered by the missionary professors to the students on Sunday evenings."<sup>1</sup>

Day also sharply criticized the use of non-Christian teachers, many who used "language", floggings etc. quite contrary to the Christian spirit. With Duff he agreed that everything depends on dedicated and talented teachers.<sup>2</sup>

Those espousing the cause of Christian higher education found further accommodation almost inevitable. William Miller (reached Madras, 1862) is an example of one who sought to cope with the problem. A brilliant innovator, he gave Christian colleges a new raison d'être: to diffuse Christian thought throughout Indian society rather than to win converts. His strategy of spreading Christian ideas rather than preaching and pressing for "baptism", was defended at Allahabad (1872).<sup>3</sup> Whereas Duff had hoped educated converts would go out to transform society, Miller contends that the very principles of Christian thought would leaven

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 138f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 123-131.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Report of the General Missionary Conference, Allahabad, 1872-1873, pp. 103-116.

W. B. Davis, A Study of Missionary Policy and Methods in India from 1772 to 1872 (unpublished thesis, New College, University of Edinburgh, 1942), pp. 120f.

<sup>4</sup>The Missionary Enterprise (London, 1890), esp. pp. 1-14.



the whole mass of Hindu society.<sup>1</sup> While Madras Christian College gained heightened respect, Miller's modified concept of education was not unanimously accepted.<sup>2</sup> Miller was sympathetic to Hindu culture and urged that it be permitted to assimilate Christian ideas. Others contended that confrontation with God in Christ called for more radical conversion, a turning from one way of life to another. This debate as to substitution/displacement or completion/fulfillment would extend to Christian Colleges among the Muslims of North India too. It appears again in the writings of Hendrik Kraemer and S. Radhakrishnan, a graduate of Madras Christian College.<sup>3</sup> Scottish "investigation committees" went to India in 1884 and 1889.<sup>4</sup> An example of how stinging this criticism could be is seen in the controversy in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1890. It was charged that Duff's predecessors were closer to the truth when they sought to preach the Gospel to the poor; that a high proportion of mission funds were being used to educate a Hindu aristocracy, to promote an anti-Christian Hindu renaissance; and that these schools divert the energies of three-quarters of the ablest missionaries from evangelism and a "national movement". What was counseled was, a return to primary Christian schools for the masses, the development of "democratic" native agencies, and a renewed effort by missionaries at "identification" with the peoples of India (i.e. charges of "luxury", aloofness, fraternizing with the upper classes, etc.).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, Report of Commission III, p. 443. Also cf. O. K. Chetty, William Miller (Madras, 1924) and works by Miller, Indian Missions and How to View Them (Edinburgh, 1878), Educational Agencies in India (Madras, 1893), and The Madras Christian College. A Short Account of its History and Influence (Edinburgh, 1905).

<sup>2</sup>Dr. D. Mackichan, Principal of Wilson College, Bombay in contrast stressed that the conversion of pupils was the prime objective.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, East and West in Religion (London, 1933) and the contrasting opinion of Kraemer, below pp.408ff.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. B. Davis, A Study of Missionary Policy and Methods in Bengal from 1793 to 1905 (unpublished thesis, New College, University of Edinburgh, 1942), pp. 170ff.

<sup>5</sup>The Missionary Controversy (London, 1890), esp. pp. 1-14.

The new policy stated that (1) educational agencies should be subordinate to the direct work of preaching the Gospel, (2) educators should if possible be laymen, hence, freeing clergy for evangelism and pastoral work, and (3) the advantages of education should be given mainly to native converts.<sup>1</sup> While the "mission machinery" often drew susceptible recruits into existing patterns, these investigations gave several workers new determination to bridge the social, ethnic gulf between Western missionary and the people of India.

One of these was J. N. Farquhar (1869-1929), a Scottish lay-missionary teaching at the L.M.S. Christian College at Bhowanipur. He observed that missionaries in the European ghetto of an English-medium college often did not come into touch with Indian thought and religions, much less enter into "evangelism". Even the respected William Miller while professing the superiority of Christianity was rather vague about its relation to India's religions. Farquhar wanted to develop a sympathetic yet distinctly evangelistic approach. He gave up his "joyless, hopeless work of college" to become a Y.M.C.A. secretary, responsible for literary and student work. Sensitive to the religious renaissances, national movements in India and the evolutionary theories of the day, he developed the idea that Christianity was the "fulfillment" of other religions.<sup>2</sup> Since Christianity

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 83ff.

<sup>2</sup>Farquhar edited three useful books: the Religious Quest of India, the Religious Life of India, and the Heritage of India. His ideas on fulfillment are found in The Crown of Hinduism (Oxford, 1913). Also cf. Eric J. Sharpe, Not to Destroy but to Fulfil, the contribution of J. N. Farquhar to Protestant Missionary Thought in India before 1914 (Uppsala, 1965) and a review of it by Duncan B. Forrester in The Indian Journal of Theology, 15 (1966), pp. 67-69. Sharpe examines the factors shaping this concept of "fulfillment". Influential were: the change in Protestant theology and attitude towards other religions, the acceptance of the principle of evolution and historical criticism, the rise of the science of comparative religion, e.g. Max Müller, the renaissance of non-Christian religions, and the modification and failure of Christian higher education to convert the "upper classes". These prompted Farquhar to attempt a new approach to evangelize students and the educated strata.

was not out to "destroy" but to "fulfil", progressive Hindus and others could embrace it and Christians could be more sympathetic to other religions. Professor A. G. Hogg, another Scotsman in Madras criticized Farquhar, asking "what in Hinduism does Christianity fulfill?" Hogg was conscious of the distinctiveness and individuality of each religion and felt the conflict could not be so easily resolved. Influenced by the twentieth century revival of evangelical theology he stressed the sympathetic presentation of the Christian message. Hogg then stood for continuing the educational approach of Duff as well as direct evangelism.<sup>1</sup> The survival of the colleges of the Anglicans, American and Scottish Presbyterians revealed that this approach begun by Duff and modified by many forces still had widespread support. It must be acknowledged that many Muslim converts had their first contact with the Christian faith in these colleges even if they did not come under "conviction" of its truth until later years. All these various educational approaches would come under closer scrutiny during the crisis in mission and theology, 1920-1938.

#### Americans in Medical Missions

Americans took the lead in medical missions. One of the early leaders was Dr. John Scudder who went to Ceylon in 1819 under the A.M.C.F.M. Later generations of his family served with the Reformed Church in America at Vellore and in Arabin. The Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., went to China (1835) and later inspired the founding of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. The first professional medical work

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<sup>1</sup>Alfred G. Hogg's thoughts are found in Karma and Redemption (London, 1909), Christ's Message of the Kingdom (Edinburgh, 1911), Redemption from this World; or the Supernatural in Christianity (Edinburgh, 1922), The Challenge of the Temporal Process (Madras, 1934), and The Christian Message to the Hindu (Duff Lectures for 1945, London, 1947). A similar view is found in D. S. Cairns, Christianity in the Modern World (2nd ed. London, 1907), "The Need for Apologists," Student World, 4 (1911), 49ff., and "The Christian Message. A Comparison of Thought in 1910 and in 1928," I.R.M., 18 (1929), 321ff.

medical tours convinced many including Robert Clark of the future of this approach.



AN INTERDENOMINATIONAL CONTRIBUTION: WITH REFERENCE TO MEDICAL  
MISSIONS AND THE GROWING ENTHUSIASM FOR CHRISTIAN SERVICE

Christian service and medical missions had a very visible impact on India. Medicine was at first an auxiliary service of the evangelist and his wife. All missionaries engaged in various forms of Christian service, rendering what meagre medicines and generous compassion they possessed, founding orphanages and relief centers for the unfortunate. Indian evangelists, e.g. Abdul Masih, treated patients in a style similar to that of the native "Hakim". These missionaries gained what help they could from medical textbooks, British Army surgeons and the dispensaries in Calcutta and Bombay. But when medicine came into its own as a "science", all this changed. Medical missions emerged as a distinct method, a phenomenon crossing denominational lines. In the last quarter of the century, this means gained prominence in work among Muslims in North India.

Americans in Medical Missions

Americans took the lead in medical missions. One of the early leaders was Dr. John Scudder who went to Ceylon in 1819 under the A.B.C.F.M. Later generations of his family served with the Reformed Church in America at Vellore and in Arabia. The Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., went to China (1835) and later inspired the founding of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. The first professional medical work in North India began with the Presbyterians (U.S.A.) of the Ludhiana Mission. John Newton, Sr. had hoped to add medical training to his theological studies, but this was not granted. Nevertheless his "amateur" medicine was soon swamped with requests. So inspired, his son, John Newton, Jr., M.D. began successful work at Kapurthala in 1858. His leper work at Subathu and zealous evangelistic-medical tours convinced many including Robert Clark of the future of this approach

to Muslims. The Presbyterian Hospital and Medical Training Center that evolved at Ludhiana was to the North, what Vellore was to the South. Dr. William Wanless developed another esteemed center at Miraj, Kolhapur (1889).<sup>1</sup> Mary Reed of the American Methodist Episcopal Church and the international Mission to Lepers Society experienced that dreaded disease and yet carried on a long ministry of healing at an Asylum in the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> Most of these programs began with a single missionary doctor who gradually gained Christian Indian assistants, then a dispensary, and sometimes a hospital. The touring doctor was both evangelist and healer. Later the medical institution became the center of work for evangelists, colporteurs, etc. These services rendered to the blind, deaf, diseased, handicapped and the destitute in the spirit and name of Christ made a deep imprint on many non-Christians. A prominent Indian Muslim in 1905 declared:

"It is these medical missionaries who are winning the hearts and the confidence of our people. If we do not do as they do, we will soon lose our hold upon our own people. We must build hospitals and care for the sick and dying if we wish to keep our religion alive."<sup>3</sup>

### Scottish Medical Missions

Peter Parker visited Edinburgh in 1841 to report to a group of medical and mission-minded persons including John Abercrombie, Thomas Chalmers and

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<sup>1</sup>E. M. Wherry, Our Missions in India, 1834-1924 (Boston, 1926), pp. 88, 175f, 191ff. and William Wanless, An American Doctor at Work in India (New York, 1932). By 1900-1901, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. had 12 foreign doctors, 20 hospitals and dispensaries treating over 125,000 patients in India. Cf. Beach, Statistics and Atlas, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>For this dedicated phase of the work cf. John Jackson, Lepers, Thirty-One Years' Work Among Them: Being the History of the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, 1874-1905 (London, 1906) and Mary Reed, Missionary to Lepers (London, 11th edition, 1912); Lee S. Huizenga, Mary Reed of Chandag (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1939); and E. Mackerchar, Miss Mary Reed of Chandag (London, n.d.).

<sup>3</sup>J. M. Thoburn, The Christian Conquest of India (New York, 1906), p. 186.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Youngson, Far East Mission, pp. 125ff, 176ff, 273ff. and Hovatt, Vision and Achievement, pp. 122ff.

William Swan.<sup>1</sup> The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society was formed (November, 1841), with Abercrombie as president, in order: (1) to circulate information encouraging medical missions; (2) to aid medical work in as many stations as possible; and (3) to help recruit and train medical personnel. The concepts of "medical evangelism" were hammered out by W. Burns Thomson and other students at P. D. Handyside's Mission clinic at "39" Cowgate. Thomason also served as agent of the Society (1860-1870) and did much to promote medical missions and inspire such as J. Hutchison of the Church of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hutchison reached India (1870) to establish a dispensary and cottage hospital at Chamba (1873-) and to make extensive medical-evangelistic tours even into Tibet. Other dispensary-hospitals opened at Sialkot (1889), Gujrat and Jalalpur. The majority of the patients were Muslims. Every effort was made to introduce the Gospel by public services of Scripture and exposition at the beginning of each day. North India suffered many outbreaks of disease, famine, and flood and so when Christians ministered to those deserted by others it made lasting impressions on the populace. In the twentieth century scene of political-religious unrest, this ministry of healing and reconciliation by the Christian community gained even greater importance.<sup>3</sup>

The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (EMMS) had far reaching influence. Its Training Institution in Edinburgh under J. Lowe helped prepare forty students between 1872-1886 for the Churches of Scotland, C.M.S., L.M.S., English Presbyterians, Scottish Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, A.B.C.F.M., China Inland Mission, etc. and its own hospital at Nazareth. Colin Valentine became head of

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<sup>1</sup>To show how interdenominational these currents were, it was the Letters on Missions by Swan, a missionary to Siberia which had originally inspired Parker to go to China.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. W. Burns Thomson, Reminiscences of Medical Missionary Work (London, 1895) and A Memoir of William Jackson Elmslie (London, 1881).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Youngson, Punjab Mission, pp. 125ff, 176ff, 273ff. and Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 122ff.



the Agra Medical Missionary Training Institution which trained many national Christians. Dr. Lowe, a capable spokesman for medical missions, reflects the new concern for the "whole man" whose hungry, diseased, or broken body must be attended even as he is given the Gospel. Medical missions offered a "divine method" for pioneering and opening closed doors; for changing wrong ideas about God; for gaining the confidence of the populace and permeating whole districts with Christian ideas; for manifesting the greatest love to the most needy men; for demonstrating the nature of the kingdom, the creation of a new social order; and for winning men to Christ. The Society's literature drove home the fact that medical missions could serve where others could not, e.g. among Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

#### Anglican-Associated Medical Missions

The successful medical-evangelism of John Newton, Jr. at Srinagar, Kashmir (1863-64) was observed carefully by Robert Clark and his active wife.<sup>2</sup> At the Punjab Missionary Conference (1863), Clark advocated the formation of the Punjab Medical Missionary Society (formed at Lahore, January 24, 1864) to work in co-operation with the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society especially in the Valley of Kashmir. Dr. William J. Elmslie arrived at Amritsar in 1865 to reach out to Kashmir. His successor at Srinagar, Dr. T. Maxwell saw the erection of the

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. J. Lowe, Medical Missions, their Place and Power (intro. by Sir. Wm. Muir, London, 1886), pp. 210ff. Also cf. the Quarterly Paper of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society; Lectures on Medical Missions (intro. by Professor William Alison, Edinburgh, 1849); David Brodie, The Healing Art: the Right Hand of the Church (Edinburgh, 1859); J. R. Williamson (University of Edinburgh), The Healing of the Nations: A Treatise on Medical Missions (London, 1899); R. Fletcher Moorshead, Appeal of Medical Missions (London, 1913); and H. T. Hodgkin, The Way of the Good Physician (London, 1915).

<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth Browne was daughter of a Scottish doctor who had served as a private physician for 45 years in Calcutta. Their adopted son, Henry Martyn Clark in Clark retells these events which incidently led him also to become a medical missionary. Cf. pp. 238ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Lowe, Medical Missions, pp. 39f, 57ff, 77, 182ff, 230, et passim. and Thomson, Memoir...

hospital there (1874). Medical work at Amritsar dates from 1872, but St. Catherine's Hospital opened only in 1880. While many at the Decennial Missionary Conference at Allahabad (1873) questioned the idea of diverting "sacred funds" to medical work, Robert Clark declared:

"Medical Missions are amongst the most important means of evangelising India; and the attention of all Societies should be more distinctly drawn than has hitherto been the case to the opportunities which they afford."<sup>1</sup>

Closer observation of several medical missionaries associated with the C.M.S. provide insights into this means. Presbyterian William Jackson Elmslie (1832-1872), a medical graduate of the University of Edinburgh, responded to the C.M.S. call to establish a mission station at Srinagar (where earlier efforts had failed). After three summer seasons (1865-1867) and the treatment of several thousand patients, the first converts came forward. In spite of the opposition of the mullahs, the Maharajah permitted erection of a small school (1868). The increase in clinic-patients and inquirers (especially interested in the writings of Imad-ud-Din) continued. Elmslie's method on tour was to seek out the village's chief man and to identify himself. While offering his medical services he also shared the "Injil" of "Isa Masih". Catechist and literature supplemented his work at the clinic and on tour. He advocated that the Gospel be presented prayerfully and in the simplest language. Elmslie's paper: "Scheme for Training Native Medical Missionary Evangelists" (C.M.S. Conference at Amritsar, 1866) advocated the training of gifted Indian Christians in both medicine and evangelism. Elmslie himself travelled to Calcutta to consult with Sir John Lawrence and Sir William Muir on this scheme. He also visited Chamba Mission under Scotsman W. Ferguson and introduced the work that Hutchinson was to develop. Elmslie's sudden death (1872) left a great gap in this pioneer realm.<sup>2</sup> In his brief career, however, he

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Clark, Clark, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lowe, Medical Missions, pp. 39f, 57ff, 77, 182ff, 230, et passim. and Thomson, Memoir...Elmslie.

had sounded the theme: "Heal the sick, and say unto them, the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you".

Devout Anglicans Arthur (1859-1919) and Ernest Neve were top ranking graduates of the University of Edinburgh and related to the E.M.M.S. Serving in Kashmir, the Neve brothers built up the Srinagar Hospital as a "practical manifestation of Christianity" which affords "opportunities for witness and treatment". In this predominantly Muslim land, they linked healing, touring and preaching together. The respect they earned was evidenced by a Muslim publication of sorrow at Arthur's death (1919).<sup>1</sup> Arthur's theology and methodology are best expressed in his own words:

"From the same Divine source, whence flowed miraculous gifts to the holy apostles and the early Church, does Western civilization owe its medical science and surgical art. Let these be consecrated to the use of their Creator...the preaching of a Saviour's love to them that are afar off and to them that are nigh. So long as sickness can soften the heart, so long as kindness can win gratitude,...so long 'what God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' Vital as are the ever interesting relations of body and soul, so are the relations between the science which deals with the one and the philosophy that ministers to the other, vital and imminent. Not upon the temporizing policy of human wisdom but upon the eternal and immutable decree of Omniscience was founded the Divine mandate, first uttered by the shore of the Sea of Galilee, 'Preach, saying the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Heal the sick.'

"Love is at once the inspiration of Medical Mission work and the chord it seeks to strike. It is a strain which can be awakened in most hearts but vibrates not in the creed of Islam....A creed whose object is a loveless deity attracts not love, for love-worshipping demands a loving God. 'That the All-Great is the All-Loving too' is a faith that cannot find expression truer than the Cross of Calvary. The awakening of Mohammedans to the realization of love as an intuition of religion must involve a recoil from the loveless void of Islam, and with the first breathings of the love of humanity will come faith in One whose crucifixion testifies the love of Him who loved us and gave Himself for us.

"This we apprehend to be the scope of Medical Missions. The stern intellectual barriers of Mohammedanism are to be attacked through the heart...."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. E. F. Neve, A Crusader in Kashmir (Biography of Arthur Neve, London, 1928), pp. 64-65. Also cf. Arthur Neve, Thirty Years in Kashmir (London, 1913) and Beyond the Pir Panjal (London, 1914).

<sup>2</sup>Neve, Crusader, pp. 33f.



While opposed to controversy, the Neve brothers never allowed opposition to halt the sympathetic proclamation of the Gospel. Ernest Neve saw the Christian faith as the only reconciler, transformer, which could "give birth to the national unity which is so conspicuously absent in these days of communal strife".<sup>1</sup> His positive presentation of the News of the Kingdom of God in Christ slowly gained respect among Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs and strengthened St. Luke's Church.<sup>2</sup> He understood however that all evangelism among Muslims depends on personal relationship and sacrifice:

"Both the Hindu and Moslem religions are peculiarly resistant to the impact of Christianity....The great need in India is constructive friendship. Theological dialectics between opposing religions are of little value. Religious controversy is more apt to engender hatred than love. If men cannot be attracted by the love and sympathy of Christ, history and logic will not succeed.

"For the continued presentation of Christianity to Hindus and Moslems there is no more potent agency than the work of Medical Missions."<sup>3</sup>

The Neve brothers personified in their lives an approach of "constructive friendship" which both communicates and serves in the name of Christ.

Theodore Leighton Pennell (1867-1912) served the Afghans in a brilliant sacrificial ministry of healing for twenty years (1892-1912). His work with C.M.S. at Dera Ismail Khan and at Bannu demonstrates how difficult it was to establish the Church among the fierce Pathan Muslim tribes. Pennell's approach was to identify himself with these people by adopting Pathan dress, eating habits, customs, mode of travel, etc. yet retaining a distinctly Christian witness. On one occasion he and a convert traveled 1500 miles to Bombay as Christian Sadhus without purse or script (1903-1904). He did this not as an adventurous orientalist, but to achieve entrance into the inner circle of the Afghans. He succeeded remarkably well in gaining mullah, fakir and other Muslims as friends. His favourite

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 81ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 13ff.

method was to take one or two Christian converts, e.g. Jahan Khan (Lord of Life) and Taib Khan (Pleasant Lord) on an evangelistic-medical tour instructing inquirers, distributing Scriptures and preaching at bazaar and local fair. Native preachers gained his praise:

"We say diamond cuts diamond, and so I have found that it requires a converted Pathan to cope with a Pathan Bazaar audience....It is seldom wise to attempt to answer objections in the bazaar....I ask the objector to name a place and time, and I shall be pleased to explain any difficulties....To my mind much more good can be done with a bazaar audience by a patient exposition of the spirituality of Christianity than by a however brilliant a demonstration of the faults of Islam or Hinduism.

"Our Indian brethren are, as a rule, more resourceful in illustration and orientally picturesque in description than our more prosaic selves, and when touched by the Spirit form splendid preachers...."<sup>1</sup>

A new preaching hall at Bannu (1900) assisted this form of the work. Not confining himself to medical work, Pennell started a school with a hostel (1895), then a Secondary level (1898), printed a local newspaper (1897), and rendered many other services for the needy. The Hospital at Bannu and other substations at Karak, Thal, etc. provided the backbone of the mission under the preacher-doctor Jahan Khan, Dr. and Mrs. Barton, Dr. Bennett, and others. The rather unorthodox, experimental methods of Pennell did not always gain full approval in the Mission, but Pennell succeeded in forming the nucleus of a small Church. Under persecution and the pressures of a hostile environment, Pennell held that the Christian community must be something of an Anjuman or brotherhood with common property, table, worship and "serving God in serving others". The Bannu congregation rejoiced in being able to hold "public services" for laying the foundation stone of "the Church of the Holy Name" in 1912.<sup>2</sup>

Pennell's views on medical missions were set forth in a speech in London (May, 1910):

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<sup>1</sup>Alice M. Pennell, Pennell of the Afghan Frontier (London, 1914) pp. 183-187. Also of interest is T. L. Pennell, Among the Wild Tribes on the Afghan Frontier (London, 1909).

<sup>2</sup>A. Pennell, Pennell, pp. 111ff, 405ff. In 1897, seven converts were baptized. By 1901 there were 26 recognized Christians, by 1910, the total was 100.

"Medical Missions are the laboratories of practical missionary effort. Modern education differs from that of thirty years ago in the prominence it gives to practical teaching and experiment. Just as we have realized that we need something more than the mere verbal setting forth of the Gospel message to non-Christian nations, we need the practical exposition of it which is given by medical missions. India is surfeited with doctrine and dogma, and turns away from the preacher to her own philosophies and speculations, but when brought face to face with a practical exposition of the Christ life, she is captivated...."<sup>1</sup>

Here then was a demonstration to balance declaration, a means for penetrating closed communities:

"Afghanistan is closed....yet the influence of Medical Missions has penetrated through and through. I suppose there are few, if any, villages in East and South Afghanistan which have not sent their quota of patients to our Frontier hospitals. These patients have heard the Gospel preached in our out-patient departments; have, many of them, lain week after week in the wards, receiving the ministrations of the Christians, watching our lives and gauging the reality of our professions, and then they have gone back to their district homes and retailed their experiences....Often a Testament or other book, carefully secreted from prying eyes, is smuggled back to their homes and studied in private, and passed on in secret to some friend, thus the people have become familiarized with the Gospel story...."<sup>2</sup>

There were few who would dispute the fact that medical missions were a prime means for entering predominantly Muslim controlled areas. The work at Bannu, Srinagar, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan and Quetta testify to this.

This work was not confined to men. The interdenominational Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM) formed in 1852 and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) in 1880. By 1900 the former had 154 women missionaries and 289 Indian workers, and the latter 175 and 829 respectively, serving in schools, medical work, and visitation ventures.<sup>3</sup> These spread over the territories north of Bombay and Calcutta. Their numbers included such as Dr. Maria Holst, later founder of the Danish Pathan Mission at Mardan; Fanny Jane Butler,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 398ff. For an account of the medical work and struggling church at Quetta (1900- ) cf. Sir Henry Holland, Frontier Doctor (autobiography) (London, 1958).

<sup>3</sup>Beach, Statistics and Atlas, p. 25.



first woman doctor to Kashmir; and Amy Carmichael whose sensitive pen has enriched the lives of many.<sup>1</sup>

"Medical Missions" among Muslims in India helped create a new public spirit of compassion for the sick and afflicted as well as drawing many into the sphere where the Gospel could be heard. Serious minded medical workers considered their work as a living demonstration of the nature of the Kingdom of God and the redemptive power of Christ, yet never to be divorced from the Proclamation of the Gospel, for only Christ can deliver man from sin, sickness and ignorance. Medical work experienced rapid growth up to World War I.<sup>2</sup> During the critical 1930s, it would become apparent however that the medical approach, like educational work, could suffer from institutionalization, the idea that humanitarian objectives were ends in themselves, and the failure to share in the Life and Mission of the indigenous Church. Until then the "medical approach" received almost unceasing praise.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Annual Reports of the ZBMM and CHZMS and works such as A. R. Cavalier, In Northern India. A Story of Mission Work in Zenanas, Hospitals, Schools and Villages (London, n.d.); Thomas Carter, Rose Harvey, Friend of the Leper (London, n.d.); Irene Barnes, Behind the Pardah (CEZMS, London, 1898); E. M. Tonge, Fanny Jane Butler, Pioneer Medical Missionary (London, n.d.); A. C. Wilson, Irene Petrie, Missionary to Kashmir (London, 1901); and the works of Amy Carmichael, Overweights of Joy (London, 1907), Lotus Buds (London, 1910), Gold Cord. The Story of Fellowship (London, 1932).

<sup>2</sup>In 1889 there were 60 overseas medical missionaries in India, in 1914, 335. Cf. Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 191.

THE PRESBYTERIAN (U.S.A.) CONTRIBUTION: WITH REFERENCE TO  
A CHURCH-ORIENTATED APPROACH

Exactly what is meant by a "church-orientated" approach? Faced by the millions of India, did not every mission group realize that the evangelization of that country ultimately depended upon the creation of a "native agency", an indigenous Church? Was it not apparent that evangelism, education and service must be directed to this end? While this was admitted by all, the American Presbyterians appear to have succeeded remarkably well in cultivating an "indigenous" Christian community. The exact causes for this success is difficult to determine. Perhaps the "freedom" of the American frontier permitted greater liberty in "baptizing" Indian forms? Perhaps the varied program of the Presbyterians of the "New World" maintained greater flexibility than that of their European counterparts? Perhaps presbyterianism with its "representative" government was peculiarly adaptable to the situation? Most would confess that this idea of approaching Muslims via national Christians and churches, was exemplary. To comprehend the scope of this approach, one should look briefly into the larger American scene, the actual endeavors of the American Presbyterians, and their concept of "Church" and "Mission".

The American Scene

American efforts began early in India with the arrival of A.B.C.F.M. workers (1812). Work in the predominantly Muslim Northwest started with the relaxation of restrictions on missions (1833) and the expansion of the pax Britannica. The American churches like their British and European counterparts were not appreciably involved in mission during the post-Reformation era (1555-1691). At first, American energies were expended in establishing a free church in a new land. Small mission circles appeared in the century of evangelical revivals (1691-1789),

but it was after the Revolution that the idea of missions to the East came into being (1789-1815). The New Calvinism of Edwards and Hopkins with emphasis on "disinterested benevolence" and the desire to "win souls" provided the needed dynamic. The American Missionary Movement in its pioneering days (1815-1884) expanded with great vigor and rapidity and its program slackened little with the arrival of a more "liberal" theological outlook late in the period. As the liberal forces brought forth a strong emphasis on humanitarian service, philanthropic benevolence, and social progress; the Evangelicals retained the concern for proclaiming and teaching the Word. Before long, mission endeavors hit a new peak in terms of personnel and expenditure (1884-1914). There was increased appreciation for the cultures and societies as well as individuals of other lands. Higher education, medical services, industrial training and welfare work gained new prominence. These general characteristics describe American efforts prior to the Edinburgh Conference (1910).<sup>1</sup> American efforts in India, while starting later than British circles, were nearly equal in scope by the early part of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

While the Presbyterians (U.S.A.) maintained the largest concentrated effort in Muslim work in North India, mention must be made of two other American bodies: the American Baptists and the Methodist Episcopal Church. Organized under Adoniram Judson (1814), the Baptists reached Assam in 1836. Later they encountered Muslims in Bengal-Orissa. Known for their ecclesiastical flexibility and touch

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<sup>1</sup>For fuller background material cf. James S. Udy, Attitudes with the Protestant Churches of the Occident towards the Propagation of Christianity in the Orient--An Historical Survey up to 1914 (Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University, 1952).

<sup>2</sup>By 1900-1901, there were 35 American societies and 34 British Societies. Cf. Beach, Statistics and Atlas, p. 25. By 1914, American personnel numbered about five-sixths of the British numbers. Cf. H. P. Beach and B. St. John (editors) World Statistics of Christian Missions (New York, 1916). The largest bodies in India were in this order: Church of England, American Methodist Episcopal Church, American Baptist Missionary Society, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Cf. Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 165, 169.



with the common man, they had greater success among India's depressed peoples than among Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Starting late in India (1856), the Methodist Episcopal Church expanded rapidly to become the largest American force in India by 1910. The United Provinces (Oudh and Rohilkhand), with Bareilly as a center, became their northern territory. Under William Butler, James M. Thoburn (1836-1922) and William Taylor, a program of dynamic evangelism and the organization of self-supporting congregations produced phenomenal results. Wherry testifies that their effective pattern of preaching and village evangelization influenced the Presbyterians:

"The example of the American Methodist missionaries, who authorized their evangelists to baptize any of the people, who are ready to openly declare their faith in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, led the Presbyterians to adopt the methods at least in part. The influence of the evangelists, who were given to the first Methodist missionaries, men like Joel Janvier, who soon became a noted leader, could not but inspire a similar holy zeal and enthusiasm among the Presbyterian workers. The fire of missionary zeal began to glow. The writer well remembers an address made by request of a Presbyterian, asking the Rev. Mr. Thoburn to give some account of the village work then claiming the attention of missionaries everywhere. We were urged to adopt the methods of wise fishermen, who ever sought the places where the fish would bite....The effect of that address was to arouse us to call in question some of our ideals of fitness for service. The practical lesson was to turn away from the jabbering crowds in the market places of the city and go into the quiet villages and seek a hearing from the sons of the soil and the children of toil."<sup>2</sup>

Thoburn demonstrated the on-the-spot creativeness for which the Methodist circuit rider of the American frontier was famous. Evangelism, education, medicine, and service were all geared to the erection of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For fuller treatment cf. A. C. Chaplain, Our Gold Mine: Story of American Baptist Mission in India (Boston, 1879); Dana M. Albaugh, Between the Two Centuries: A Study of Four Baptist Mission Fields: Assam, South India, Bengal Orissa, and South China (Philadelphia, 1935); Victor H. Sword, Baptists in Assam, A Century of Missionary Service, 1836-1936 (Chicago, 1935).

<sup>2</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, pp. 300f.

<sup>3</sup>Excellent sources on the Methodist Episcopal work include: J. M. Thoburn, My Missionary Apprenticeship (New York, 1887), Light in the East (Evanston, 1894), India and Malaysia (Cincinnati, 1896), and The Christian Conquest of India (New York, 1906); F. F. Oldham, Thoburn--Called of God (New York, 1918); W. Butler, The Land of the Veda (New York, 1871) and From Boston to Bareilly and Back (New

### The Presbyterian Program

The Presbyterians (U.S.A.) developed what may be called a "Church-orientated" approach to Muslims in North India. All phases of their varied program sought to establish and invigorate an Indian Church for action in the field. After consultation with Marshman, Duff and Corrie, John C. Lowrie laid the foundations for the mission at Ludhiana in two busy years (1833-1836).<sup>1</sup> Encountering the Punjabi, Kashmiri and Afghan elements of that city, he anticipated the demanding nature of work among Muslims:

"I find that actual observation has corrected and modified my views of this field...(1) The way does not seem to be yet open for direct efforts, ...(3) The proportion of those, who embrace the religion of Muhammad, is much larger than I had supposed, and they constitute the better class of the people....There is less prospect of their conversion than of any other class."<sup>2</sup>

He proposed an unobtrusive beginning which would take new opportunities as they occurred. For him, education appeared to be the key to the heart of India, to correct misconceptions of God and to prepare the way for the Gospel:

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York, 1886); Mrs. R. Hoskins, Clara A Swain, M.D., First Medical Missionary to the Women of the Orient (Boston, 1912); M. H. Harper, The Methodist Episcopal Church in India. A Study of Ecclesiastical Organization and Administration (doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, Lucknow, 1936); and F. B. Price (editor), India Mission Jubilee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia (Calcutta, 1907). The writings of Murray T. Titus on work with Muslims also deserve special attention.

<sup>1</sup>In addition to the Annual Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the main sources are: John C. Lowrie, Two Years in Upper India (New York, 1850) and Travels in North India (Philadelphia, 1842); E. M. Wherry, Our Missions in India, 1834-1924 (Boston, 1926); Joseph Warren, A Glance Backward at Fifteen Years of Missionary Life in North India (Philadelphia, 1856); R. Speer, Presbyterian Foreign Missions (Philadelphia, 1902); Arthur J. Brown, A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (New York, 1937); and Historical Sketches of the India Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (Allahabad, 1886).

<sup>2</sup>Lowrie, Two Years in Upper India, p. 131.

The importance of Christian schools becomes still more apparent when we recollect that the main hope of success in our endeavours to convert any heathen people, so far as the use of means is concerned, consists in preparing native agents who shall preach the Gospel to their country men. These must be found and qualified, in heathen as in Christian countries, chiefly amongst the youth. Missionaries from foreign countries are indispensable in the first instance. It is theirs to sow the seed, to plant Christian institutions, to organize and train the army of native soldiers of the cross,...But they labour under great disadvantages: their numbers are small...they are and ever must be regarded as foreigners, imperfectly acquainted with the language, the usages, and the habits of the people...."<sup>1</sup>

Education and other means were to aim for the early formation of an indigenous community and agency.

The Presbyterians were fortunate in having qualified leaders of vision and longevity to fulfil these objectives. They included John Newton, Sr. (1810-1891), James Wilson, Joseph Warren (trained printer), Charles W. Forman (leader in education reaching India, 1848), Elwood Morris Wherry (leader in literature work reaching India, 1868), and many more. The expansion of the network of stations was rapid.<sup>2</sup> By 1856-57, there stretched along the foothills of the Himalayas for a thousand miles, a cordon of mission stations of the Scottish and American Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Churches.<sup>3</sup> Ludhiana a key link in this chain, started the first high school (1836), the first organized Church (1837) and the Christian Press of North India.

It is well to note how efficient use of grassroots evangelism, literature, and education contributed to the budding Indian Church and work force. In the cities, missionaries soon avoided open street or bazaar preaching (which gained

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<sup>1</sup>Lowrie, Travels in North India, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup>Stations were founded at Ludhiana (1834), Allahabad, Saharanpur, Sabathu (1836), Fattehgarh (1838), Mainpuri (1843), Furrukhabad, Agra (1844), first station in the Punjab at Jalandhar (1846), Ambala (1848), Lahore (1849), Futtehpur (1852), Dehra (1853), Rawalpindi and Roorkee (1856), Peshawar (1857), Kapurthala (1859), Etawah (1863), Hoshiarpur (1867), Muzafarnagar (1869), Ferozepur (1870), Kolhapur (adopted 1870), Gwalior (1875), etc. Cf. Badley, Directory of 1876, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, p. 91.



so much attention in English and Scottish circles) shifting instead to the quieter setting of a hall or the early erected church-buildings. Those attending the latter were often "advanced inquirers" who occasionally made spontaneous confessions of faith.<sup>1</sup> Extensive touring, preaching, tract and Scripture distribution in the villages became a main channel for reaching the people. The mission soon delegated this responsibility to Indian evangelists and ministers, e.g. Babu John Hari, K. C. Chatterji, etc. This was the key to the church's rapid growth after 1870. Chatterji for example was able to reach the Muslim village of Ghorawah (Hoshiarpur district) via a dissatisfied fakir, Gumu Shah, and his disciples. The time came when they accepted the authority of the N.T. instead of the Quran (ca. 1869). When twelve of these disciples were baptized, a court of fifty maulvies examined them. The converts fearlessly declared their new faith, giving reason why they accepted the way of Christ over the teachings of Muhammad. After a massive two day assembly, the Fateh Muhammad, declared that henceforth Muslims and Christians could have social intercourse. This helped clear the way for future converts. Missionaries on tour such as John Newton, Jr., often found pockets of "secret inquirers" and led them through Bible study to become the nucleus of a congregation. Indian pastors such as Jaimal Singh, Ashraf Ali, Mattias, Ahmad Shah, etc. took over these congregations and gave them a more persuasive witness to the people of the land. It is well to note that a high percentage of the evangelists were converts from Islam.<sup>2</sup> The Church also grew extensively from the "mass movements" out of the depressed classes of the Punjab, Kolhapur and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

"Literary Work" was a mainstay of the Presbyterian program. The Ludhiana

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 45f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 217ff, 294ff. Also cf. J. C. R. Ewing, A Prince of the Church. Being a Record of the Life of the Rev. Kali Charan Chatterjee (Chicago, 1918).

<sup>3</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, pp. 306ff.

Press (1836) and Allahabad Press supplied the eight major societies in North India for many years. Preparation, translation and publication centered on the Scriptures, books, tracts and a newspaper, Lodiana Akhbar. John Newton, W. Rodgers, Joseph Warren, J. R. Campbell, James Wilson, and Joseph Porter contributed their skills to this prodigious output.<sup>1</sup> James Wilson became the secretary of the North India Bible Society (auxiliary of B.F.B.S.) in 1845. The Punjab Conference of 1862 gave new impetus to literature work. It encouraged the presses (1) to "orientalize" writings in both language and style, (2) to eliminate controversial attacks on Islam and Hinduism, and (3) to introduce an oriental format and cover for books.<sup>2</sup> E. M. Wherry soon took the lead in producing a more constructive literary approach to Islam.<sup>3</sup> The Ludhiana Press became the voice of the Indian Church to Islam.

In prayer, Ludhiana also led. Its Annual Meeting (1858) called the whole Protestant world to join in the first "Week of World-wide Prayer" (January, 1860) beseeching God to pour out His Spirit upon all nations. This annual season of prayer was to prove the source of revival and united zeal for mission for many churches.<sup>4</sup>

From the start, education was a vital channel for communicating the Gospel to Muslims and others.<sup>5</sup> The very success of the school program created problems, e.g. the need to make limited use of non-Christian teachers.<sup>6</sup> Forman College

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 40ff, 84ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 268ff.

<sup>3</sup>For examples of Wherry's work cf. Zeinab the Panjabi (New York, 1895), The Muslim Controversy (London, 1905), Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East (New York, 1907) esp. pp. 208ff. plus the many works which he edited and supervised.

<sup>4</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, pp. 127ff, 334f.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 30ff.

<sup>6</sup>By 1904-5, there were 179 day schools with 8,034 pupils and two higher institutions with 705 students. Cf. Thoburn, Christian Conquest, p. 271.

(begun by Charles W. Forman, 1848; reopened 1885) however retained a Christian staff, curriculum and purpose when many schools were submitting to secular influences. Under Principal James C. R. Ewing, 1888-1918, it experienced growth and increased respect from all groups in the Punjab. Ewing could report in 1899 that:

"The purpose of the College is two-fold. It aims to bring the knowledge of Christ to the non-Christian youth of the Province, who resort to us in great numbers; and to educate the young men of the Christian Church that they may be fitted to take their places as leaders in the great task of evangelizing this country. Young men come to us from all quarters of Northern India, and our daily opportunity for influencing them is a most enviable one. A fair number of non-Christian students are seriously studying their Bibles, and from amongst these some will, we trust, be led by the spirit to a fuller faith, and ultimately to a public profession of their personal allegiance to Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Many other institutes, colleges, and a theological school further strengthened the Presbyterian program for training a Christian leadership and laity.<sup>2</sup> The key to the success of the American Presbyterians lies not simply in methods, however, for other groups also applied these means. The key lies more in that the program was flexible, even dispensable, so that it could be altered or sacrificed to suit the young Church. One remembers that by the end of the century, the temptation in most mission circles was to place such high premium upon the "system" so as to cause the infant church to suffer. While certain tensions in the Presbyterian camp between "mission organization" and young Church were visible, the latter fortunately gained top priority.

### "Church" and "Mission" Among the Presbyterians

Developments within the Indian Presbyterian Church however best reveal the strength of the "church-orientated" approach to Muslims and others. A strong sense of "community", the early recognition of an Indian ministry, the encouragement of mission by Indians for Indians, the gradual transfer of authority, and

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<sup>1</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 131, 284ff.



the tangible realization of the "ecumenical" nature of the Church provide salient points to be observed. The first baptism and the organization of the first Congregation at Ludhiana occurred in 1837. Every effort was exerted that the convert might "belong" to a new family. Soon congregations were electing ruling elders and deacons. After a slow start the membership doubled between 1857 and 1861.<sup>1</sup> By 1900-1901 there were 2,584 communicants including some 418 Indian workers.<sup>2</sup> This means about one in six were active in some form of evangelism. By 1914 there were 4,543 communicants and the Church was beginning to experience a tidal influx of converts via the "mass movements" to Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Muslims too gained new respect for the transforming power of the Gospel. The Presbyterian Church had become a truly Indian community.

The Presbyteries of Ludhiana (1837), Allahabad (1841), and Farrukhabad (1841) formed quickly and met as the Synod of North India in 1845. The Presbyteries of Lahore (1868), Kolhapur (1872) and Saharanpur (1841, 1884) joined later. The fact that they were willing and able to ordain Indian Christians such as Gopinath Nandi (convert under Duff), as well as Americans and Europeans (e.g. Adolph Rudolph and Julius F. Ullmann), from the start gave the Indian ministry favorable attention. The presbyterian system permitted Indian Christians a healthy voice in Church affairs. At the Third Synod meeting at Ambala (November, 1865), 120 Indian ministers, teachers, and colporteurs represented twelve Indian congregations and other phases of the work.<sup>4</sup> From 1834 to 1870, prospective candidates for the ministry trained under individual missionaries and were examined,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 88, 90, 153.

<sup>2</sup>Beach, Statistics and Atlas, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 164, and Wherry, Our Missions, pp. 311f, 328ff. Wherry indicates that by 1924 the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in India included: 85,225 members, 801 organized churches, 33 stations, 151 sub-stations, 246 missionaries and 1,288 Indian ministers, teachers and other Christian workers.

<sup>4</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, pp. 88ff.

licensed and ordained by Presbytery. The first Theological Seminary at Allahabad (1872-1875) even had a lecturer on Islam, J. H. Morrison. The next Seminary at Saharanpur (1884) included two professors concerned with work for Muslims, E. M. Wherry and J. C. R. Ewing.<sup>1</sup> Many of the candidates for the ministry were converts from Islam and intent on reaching their own people for Christ.

The young Church early inaugurated missions by Indians for Indians. At first this centered about the local congregation. Gradually Indian workers went out with missionaries to establish new stations and sometimes alone to establish sub-stations and village congregations. Another major step forward came when the Ludhiana Presbytery developed its own program of Home Missions in the large district known as "The Thenesar Home Mission Field". Evangelist Talibuddin, graduate of Forman Christian College and Saharanpur Theological Seminary served as superintendent. By 1920, this work was completely financed by Presbytery and served as a model for programs of the other Presbyterians in North India.<sup>2</sup>

The concept of cooperation in mission between the young Presbyterian Church in India and the parent body, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. and the transfer of authority were also achieved, but not without the expected struggles. At first, the Mission organization had full control. But as issues and cases arose in the young Church it became apparent they could not be resolved by the General Assembly in the U.S.A., so the Synod of North India was made the final court of appeal for all Indian members. This indicated an inequality for American members had voices in both Presbyteries and Mission. Most "policy" decisions were still made by the latter, even though John Lowie in 1834-36 had urged that Presbytery handle this so that the whole church might feel its responsibility. John Newton, Sr. in 1877 proposed "to draw up a definite plan for conducting Mission business through the Presbyteries with a view to dissolving the Mission and to present it at the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 195ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 267.

next annual meeting".<sup>1</sup> The Mission compromised (1880) by retaining control of women's work, schools, medical work, inter-Mission schemes, government correspondence, its own funds and personnel and their usage. It offered to Presbytery control of the evangelistic sphere, formation of churches, appointment of pastors and evangelists and oversight of the Church's life. Although approved by the Board in America (1882), the Presbyteries lacked men and finances to accept this offer. In the "middle years" (1885-1920), there was an "aloofness" between parent and daughter bodies. The Mission was stressing the ideas of "self-support, self-government, self-extension" (advocated by Anderson, Venn, etc.) to such a point that the Church at times felt isolated. While Indian leaders and members wanted "independence", they often resented this "apartness" of younger missionaries. It became apparent that this boycott of each other hindered the growth of the Church.<sup>2</sup> The question was "How to reunite the Church and its mission?" One suggestion (1891) was that Indian ministers should become "full members of the Mission" but this would have sapped the self-respect of the indigenous Church. J. C. R. Ewing became "field secretary" (1918) in order to iron out the new Church to Church relationships. His work, the Union of 1904, the war-time internationalization of India, improvements in stewardship, and mounting ecumenical movement all helped parent and daughter bodies to enter into "adult" relationships and a new "Partnership" in "mission".<sup>3</sup> By 1924, the Presbyterian Church in North India was distinctly independent and an equal partner in the mission to Muslims and others.

Movements toward union gained early attention among the various Presbyterian

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>2</sup>A letter of an Indian elder in Allahabad to the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions reflected the urgent need to bridge this gap. He correctly observed that "reconciliation" of Church and Mission was basic to effective witness. Cf. Ibid., pp. 269-271.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. A "Plan for Cooperation" drawn up by the Conference at Saharanpur, U.P., March 30-April 2, 1921 under Rev. J. C. R. Ewing, Secretary of the India Council and adopted by all parties in 1924. Ibid., pp. 321-27.



bodies in India. Scottish and American Presbyterians had cooperated in the support of David and John Brainerd, missionaries in America (1744) and a scheme for cooperation in India appeared by 1863.<sup>1</sup> Scottish, Irish, and American Presbyterians began conversations in 1871 and when it became evident that all were not yet ready for a single merger, a confederation, the "Presbyterian Alliance of India" took shape (1875). When the Scottish Presbyterians and Reformed Church in America of Madras Presidency formed the South India Presbyterian Church, those in the North gained new courage. After four years of discussion, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India met (December 19, 1904) drawing into union nine Presbyterian bodies. Congregational churches later joined them to form the South India United Church (1908) and the United Church of North India (1924).<sup>2</sup>

Mention also must be made of the United Presbyterian Church Mission (North America) at Sialkot begun by Andrew Gordon in 1855. This work resulted in a Church numbering 31,631 members by 1913. Conservative in nature, it bypassed the union of 1904, but later became part of the United Church in North India. Its well-known Gordon Christian College at Rawalpindi and contribution to the Theological Seminary at Gujranawala are respected by those supporting missions to Muslims.<sup>3</sup> All told, it appears that the "church-orientated" approach to Muslims by Presbyterians emphasizing the democratic, indigenous life and mission of the Christian community has been exceptionally suited for the twentieth century nations of Pakistan and India.

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<sup>1</sup>J. T. MacLagan, elder of the Church of Scotland and later Secretary of his Church's Foreign Mission Committee proposed such a scheme in his pamphlet of 1863.

<sup>2</sup>Wherry, Our Missions, pp. 250-261.

<sup>3</sup>For fuller treatment cf. Andrew Gordon, Our India Mission. A Thirty Years' History of the India Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America Together with Personal Reminiscences (Philadelphia, 1888) and Wm. B. Anderson and Charles R. Watson, Far North in India: A Survey of the Mission Field and Work of the United Presbyterian Church in the Punjab (Philadelphia, 1909).

MISSION CONFERENCES BEFORE 1910: TOWARDS AN ECUMENICAL APPROACH TO MUSLIMS

In addition to references to apologetic, educational and service-centered developments, the interdenominational Mission Conferences in India before 1910 afford some indication of the growth of an ecumenical consciousness of the confrontation with Islam. Protestants in India shared not only one Faith and Life but a tradition of Church Councils. They felt constrained to assemble knowing that unity was essential to effective fulfilment of their Lord's commission; that contact with hostile religions and environments posed many unanswered questions; and that the answers must be found together in the revival and spirit of prayer stirring the churches from Ludhiana westward. In 1810, William Carey had proposed that a general missionary conference be held at the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>1</sup> The Conference at Edinburgh a century later far surpassed his fondest dream. But even before that a new vitality was manifested in the conferences in India. These conferences can be seen as indicators of the changing attitudes and activity concerning Islam.

The South India Missionary Conference (1858), although preceded by lesser regional conferences at Calcutta (1855) and Benares (1857), marks the real beginning of a chain of interdenominational gatherings. Its reports and resolutions indicate that medical missions were proposed by the Scudders for reaching the "great masses of Heathen and Mohammedan people".<sup>2</sup> The Reformed Church in America and A.B.C.F.M. argue that education must be used to raise up the national church while Scots, Anglicans, and others see it as an avenue for reaching into

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. R. Rouse, "William Carey's 'Pleasing Dream'," I.R.M., 38 (1949), pp. 181-189.

<sup>2</sup>Proceedings of the South India Missionary Conference held at Ootacamund, 1858 (Madras, 1858), pp. 339f.

non-Christian communities. This Conference, with the Mutiny fresh in mind, views Islam through eyes of fear. Islam is portrayed as a "fortress", "artfully planned to destroy souls...".<sup>1</sup>

The Punjab Missionary Conference held at Lahore (1862-1863) was attended by all Protestant societies except the S.P.G. This conference was significant in that it symbolizes the beginning of united Protestant efforts among Muslims in the North and introduces themes which develop on into <sup>the</sup> twentieth century. The Report with its essays and recorded discussions makes fascinating reading and gives insight into the moods and methods of workers among Muslims.

"Preaching to the Heathen" by John Newton indicated this was still considered the prime method. Essays "On Hindoo and Mahomedan Controversy" surprisingly reveal that most missionaries had little regard for controversy as a method. The few who favored it did so only as a tool to awaken the heathen out of their apathy. Orbison (American Presbyterian) outspokenly criticizes it as a type of verbal force used by one person over another which lacks biblical support. While men may debate in private or by letter, public debate should not be allowed for it breeds hard hearts, bitterness, hate and all that the missionary and Gospel should not symbolize. He openly opposes the techniques applied by Pfander. In the discussion that follows, Robert Bruce (C.M.S.) and Hauser (Methodist Episcopal) defend controversy as a method.<sup>2</sup> The report contains only one note of medieval abuse regarding Islam.<sup>3</sup>

Education gained both support and criticism. C. W. Forman's essay: "Schools: How can they be made in the highest degree auxiliary to the work of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Punjab Missionary Conference held at Lahore, December and January, 1862-1863 (Lodiana, 1863), pp. 20ff.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Bruce reveals he is not completely free of medieval polemics when he refers to Muhammad as "that father of lusts and teacher of lies." Ibid., p. 79.



evangelizing the country?" sets forth this advice;

"We must keep more steadily in view the conversion of our pupils, and the fitting of them for extending still further the work of conversion, as the great end at which we are to aim....There should be no attempt to conceal the truth that our schools were established to make converts....Let the education given in our schools, be thoroughly, manifestly Christian, and let everything else be subordinate and contributory to this."<sup>1</sup>

The storm-clouds of government interference, "grants-in-aid" and "heathen teachers" were appearing however and W. Ferguson (Church of Scotland) rejected the majority opinion that "education" was the key to reaching Muslim and other youth. R.

Thackwell added:

"Most of the brethren who have spoken in favour of allowing Hindoos and Mahommedans to teach the Bible in our schools, seem to take it for granted, that such teachers will do their duty faithfully. But what guarantee have we, that they will not wrest the Scriptures from its natural and legitimate meaning in order to favour their own peculiar systems? For instances: the Mahommedan in teaching the fourteenth chapter of John's Gospel, may tell his pupils that the Comforter there spoken of, is Mahomed, and so teaching his own religion out of our Bibles....I have insisted that none other than a Christian should impart Christian instructions."<sup>2</sup>

As noted, Conference contributed to many other vital areas.<sup>3</sup>

Before the Indian Church could face Islam, many hard questions had to be faced. With searing honesty, Goloknath, an Indian Presbyterian warned against the paternal system, i.e. the missionary who sees his converts as "objects of his compassion and pity, but hardly worthy of his friendship, or capable of communion with him, except on religious subjects".<sup>4</sup> The shocked responses blended confession with self-defense! Three topics pointed towards an ecumenical church-oriented approach towards Muslims and others: "On a Native Pastorate;" "Inter-mission Discipline;" and John Newton's essay, "An Indian Catholic Church: Is the formation of such a Church desirable? And, if so, what can be done at present in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-38, for discussion p. 39ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 46f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 55ff, 96ff, 107ff, 268ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 159-172.

furtherance of the subject?" The second paper developed into what is called "Comity", the cooperation not competition of societies in various fields. The third paper by Newton was most visionary. It set forth plans for mergers and confederations disclosing that some workers in India were far in advance of their home churches.<sup>1</sup> Many of the proposals of the Punjab Conference were to be accomplished in the twentieth century.

The first "Decennial" Missionary Conference at Allahabad (1872-1873) reflected how the churches and societies were growing in fellowship through revival and prayer (parallel to developments in Britain and America). Five papers on preaching to Muslims deserve special attention. Imad-ud-din declared that preaching must (1) remove the doctrinal barriers surrounding the basic truths, e.g. the sonship-divinity of Christ, Trinity and the Bible as the Word of God; (2) provide commentary to the Bible; and (3) give a true account of biblical history to those whose views were muddled. The preacher needed maturity in reason and a winning friendliness.<sup>2</sup> Maulvi Safdar Ali held that effective preaching involved (1) focusing on the main truths essential to man's salvation, e.g. Christ's death in man's behalf; (2) avoiding the insignificant and fanciful matters which distract; and (3) crossing denominational lines so that observers may see "love" as the prime characteristic of the Christian community.<sup>3</sup> T. V. French advised preachers to avoid the recent wave of Muslim reaction and to probe to the heart by using the Sufi writings to introduce listeners to an awareness of sin, repentance, and the life of fellowship with God. He hoped for the rise of a group of Christian fakirs.<sup>4</sup> Scotsman, Mitchell also challenged the Church to meet the opportunity of presenting

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 299-308 followed by discussion pp. 308-317.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872-1873 (London, 1873), pp. 52ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 55ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 58ff.

Christ to India's 21 million Muslims.<sup>1</sup> T. P. Hughes criticized bazaar preaching and suggested a winsome form of itinerant preaching:

"I do not attach very much importance to this method of bringing the Gospel to the people. The ordinary bazaar preaching provokes opposition. If there should be a Muhammadan Moulvie in the crowd, he must, if he values his reputation, oppose the Christian preacher. Besides this, the arguments brought forward by an ordinary bazaar opponent, are those which have to be answered over and over again.

"I prefer meeting Muhammadans alone, either in my tent or study, or at their homes, when I can calmly bring before the individual the spiritual claims of Christ's religion as compared with the legality of the system of Islam...."<sup>2</sup>

Higher education came under increased attack in this conference but the essays by S. Dyson (C.M.S.) and William Miller (Madras) and the discussion by veterans Mitchell and Wilson seemingly sustained its case.<sup>3</sup> Newer efforts in medical, zenana and literary work gained extensive treatment also. How to make the Native Church a viable, united missionary form and force gained much attention.<sup>4</sup> "Self-support" was seen as the means to "independence" and freedom from missionary control. All were concerned about the crippling after-effects resulting from the liberality of earlier missionaries. The Baptists and congregations in the South were apparently making faster progress towards self-support than groups in the hostile Muslim Northwest. Three papers regarding a united Church, church to church relations, and the missionary nature of the church showed promise. In the first, J. Barton (C.M.S.) noted that unity was not simply "uniformity of ecclesiastical organization, but oneness of spirit and doctrine". In the atmosphere of India, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians were all learning and borrowing from each other and there was no need to mold the Indian Church strictly after any one pattern. It must be allowed to evolve its own form. This vision of 1872 was not accepted by all!<sup>5</sup> Robert Clark surmised that the "growing pains" of the young Indian Church

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 65ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 92ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 207-373.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 300ff.



were healthy and should be welcomed by the "parent" bodies as pointing to the day when churches could walk hand in hand. He urged that the Native Church be recognized as the "nucleus of all missionary work in the country".<sup>1</sup> H. Stern (C.M.S.) admitted that Christians naturally gravitate into a community, but rejected the concept of "Christian villages" as artificially created ghettos isolating Christians from society and not in keeping with the Church's mission in the world.<sup>2</sup> The vision of these workers among Muslims is certainly in advance of their trying day to day circumstances.

The Second Decennial Missionary Conference at Calcutta (1882-1883) drew 475 members of 27 societies to discuss 30 papers in seven days. Of the various mission methods, e.g. preaching, primary education, women's work, the press, medical missions, etc. discussed, only "Higher Education" found itself in the "defensive position". W. Miller, evangelical educator at Madras Christian College, did not even attempt to answer the charges that many colleges were succumbing to secular and government influence but simply showed how "Scripture teaching" and a Christian atmosphere could be maintained. Miller stressed careful selection of instructors, keen discipline and a winning presentation of Christian truths.<sup>3</sup> It was clear that this channel of work had lost the respect of many. A new method introduced was that of "Sunday Schools" for Muslim children. Americans were finding it helpful in reaching and revolutionizing home-life. Its advantage was that it attracted children before their prejudices were fixed. This "experimental" effort could harness the energies of dedicated laymen.<sup>4</sup> Under the heading of the "Indian Church", it becomes apparent that much more attention is being given to selecting and training the "Native Agency", the promotion of the Church's spiritual

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 313ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 349ff.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Second Decennial Missionary Conference held at Calcutta, 1882-1883 (Calcutta, 1883), pp. 111ff, 324ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-52.

life, and the Church's self-support and self-propagation.<sup>1</sup> Men were again preferring the vernaculars for training Indian workers and asking how to root the Christian truth and life in Indian life. The nurture of the Church's spiritual life was gaining attention of proportion equal to that given "direct evangelism". "Temperance" and ethics were vital topics to a young Church trying to avoid the two pitfalls of their Hindu-Muslim background and secular Western culture. Discussion of "self-support" shows how poverty stricken Indian Christians were gaining in liberality which oft began with a sacrificial "handful of rice". Here were facts many Western Christians could hardly understand. Only a paper by E. M. Wherry gives direct treatment to Islam. He notes the accomplishments to date including the growing influence of converts from Islam. Some fifty men such as Imad-ud-Din were penetrating Islam by preaching and pen in a remarkable way. What was needed was more missionaries for Muslim work with proper training:

"The present unpreparedness of missionaries for this work is simply marvellous. The success of their work testifies not to missionary wisdom, but to a Divine power graciously manifested in human weakness. But how much greater might be our successes were we better prepared, and were we to adopt the best means at our disposal! The Mahomedans of India are a hopeful class for missionary effort...so far as North India is concerned, and in proportion to the labour bestowed, five Muslims have been converted to Christianity for every Hindu convert. Let it be remembered that many nominal Muslims are dissatisfied with Islam, shall we lead these to Christ or leave them to seek comfort in the rational faith of Sayad Ahmad?"<sup>2</sup>

Wherry concludes by pointing out measures ensuring greater success in Muslim work:

"(1) Men must be specially set apart and educated for this work. The Arabic language should be studied immediately....(2) The Missionary must not be a recluse. He must be able to mingle freely with the people. The people can best learn the Gospel by seeing it exemplified in the loving-kindness, probity and holiness of the preacher. (3)...the preacher must preach Christ and Him crucified. In my opinion controversy in public places and especially in the bazaar should be avoided. What is wanted there is not so much debate, or assault on Mahomed and Islam, as clear statements of Gospel truth, bearing on the practical side of religion."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 55ff, 85ff, 251ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

It is clear that workers among Muslims had learned many lessons over the decades and were seeking the best vocabulary to convey the News of Christ to India's 41 million Muslims.

The Third decennial Missionary Conference at Bombay (1892-1893) proved to be the largest ever with 620 members from forty societies discussing 30 papers in a week. While the methods of "Work Among the Educated Classes," education, women's work and literature gain full treatment, reference to "Preaching" is missing.<sup>1</sup> One could say it was simply taken for granted, but more likely it had fallen into disrepute partly due to its earlier association with "controversy" and partly due to the rise of liberal theology which stressed human experience over divine revelation. In the next conference at Madras (1902), some delegates would try to correct this omission. A strong Christian humanism appears under headings regarding the depressed classes and masses, lepers, lower classes, Eurasians, etc.<sup>2</sup> Here is a concern for the poor, rejected and diseased of humanity clearly rooted in the Gospel but which has come to the fore only with the rise of the romantic and liberal movements. Frequently the liberal reaction against rationalism was linked to a reaction against revelation. Feeling, religious experience and humanitarian concern were given new priority. Other topics in the Conference regarding religious training, industry, economics, social and legal rights shows this heightened interest. It also reveals the Indian Church is strong enough to challenge unacceptable social and cultural practices.

The most obvious omission was the treatment of missions to Islam! Only ten years before there were pleas for more concentrated effort. What caused this? First, the mass movements of low caste peoples into Christianity were absorbing

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference held at Bombay, 1892-1893 (2 vols., pages numbered consecutively, Bombay, 1893), pp. 258ff, 413ff, 814ff, 664ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 5ff, 96ff, 541ff, 637ff.



a major proportion of energies in most regions. Second, late nineteenth century "liberalism" was rather "conciliatory" towards monotheistic non-Christian religions.<sup>1</sup> What was under concern was the attainment of civil rights for Muslim converts.<sup>2</sup> Because of a more enlightened public opinion regarding "religious liberty", thousands of Christians coming out of Islam in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh and the Northwest were slowly securing the human rights essential to existence.

The Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference at Madras (1902) was limited to 200 delegates and programmed on the basis of eight working committees, each giving carefully weighed reports. This system would be used at Edinburgh (1910). While more effective, one must confess the papers lack something of the spontaneity and personal flavor of the earlier conferences. Yet this too is significant. Mission work in India is no longer the program of the individual missionary. It is the team effort of the Missions and the Indian Churches. The National Church and Unity are prime topics. When one surveys the increase in the number of societies and churches it is easy to see why "cooperation" was so urgent. The first committee on the "Native Church" discussed the Church's development (three selves concept), training of the ministry and youth work. The growth of the Protestant Church in India was an inspiration to all. In 1855 it could have hardly exceeded 100,000 yet by 1861 it numbered 213,000; in 1891 it rose to 671,000; and by 1900 it numbered about 1,012,000. The second committee on "Evangelistic Work" covered most phases of educational work and "proclamation". It was noted that where earlier conferences (1855-1882) had given prime attention to preaching, it was "overlooked" in 1892. While education was admitted as a valid agency and powerful auxiliary to evangelism, the report urged: (1) the systematic teaching of Christian truth in every class, (2) an increase in the number of Christian teachers, and (3)

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. works such as T. W. Arnold, Preaching of Islam.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. letter of Sir. Wm. Muir describing the legal battle to secure the rights of Muslim converts, Report... Bombay, pp. 73ff.

careful selection of qualified teachers.<sup>1</sup> A special plea was issued for increased effort to reach the world's 250 million Muslims (62 million in India alone). "Not one-sixtieth of them have ever been reached by a Christian missionary." Yet the success of dedicated workers in India testifies to what can be done.<sup>2</sup> Chairman Canon Sell (C.M.S. Madras) made certain that Islam gained proper attention on this Conference's agenda. A report on the Muslims in Bengal noted hopeful signs:

"A change certainly has come over many of the Muhammadans. There was a time when they would not admit the wisdom of reading the Christian Scriptures, believing as they did that the Scriptures had been repealed. But now many of them manifest a deep interest in the Bible...."<sup>3</sup>

While rationalistic and aggressive Islamic movements had arisen, Wherry noted that the Christian ideas and practices of religious freedom had helped to generate more tolerant attitudes among liberal minded Muslims. Islamic "ecclesiasticism" and hierarchical dogma were losing their grip on many Muslims, he claimed, and various Christian methods were making inroads into Islam. He felt as did Goldsmith that the Christian worker had no reason to be discouraged by the new era of Islamic revival.<sup>4</sup>

This Conference marked the end of an era in India regarding Missions to Muslims. The next developments toward a more advanced, internationalized (ecumenical) Christian approach to Islam would be forthcoming in the Conferences held at Cairo (1906), Lucknow (1911), and Edinburgh (1910).

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference held in Madras, 1902 (London, n.d.), pp. 62ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 68ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 336ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 340ff, 347ff.

SUMMARY COMMENTS ON CHURCH AND MISSION IN INDIA

India in the nineteenth century affords a remarkable picture of the growth of Christianity. The determined Protestant Church that emerged from 1900 onwards was not simply the product of missionary work. It was to be the twentieth century pattern for the World Church in terms of "unity" and "mission". Various stages are visible. First, there were efforts to unite within denominational lines as evidenced in the Presbyterian Alliance (1875) and the Presbyterian Church (1904). Next, the Societies of different traditions agreed upon "Comity", the definition of geographical fields of work for each, and the Board of Arbitration (1903) to advise on opening new territories. Third, Congregationalists and Presbyterians were able to cross traditional lines to form the South India United Church (1908). This was a milestone towards the day when Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists and Anglicans would be one Church (1948). The Jubbulpore Conferences (1909 and 1911), the Edinburgh Conference (1910), and the Continuation Committee (1912), would give birth to the regional councils and National Christian Council of India (1914).

Equally important was that "authority" or responsibility for mission was shifting from the overseas agencies to the Indian Church. The Mukti Mission (1887) and the Keskari's Mission at Sholapur (1899) had Indian leadership but were aided by overseas finances and personnel. Interesting enough, the first independent indigenous mission work found its expression in the Muslim North. The Home Mission of the Ludhiana Church Council (1895) stimulated similar projects by the Presbyteries of Allahabad, Gujarat, Sialkot, etc. The National Missionary Society founded at Serampore (1905) with V. Z. Azariah as its secretary would have a staff of 97 in five areas of India backed by Indian stewardship by 1925. Other Indian Missions from Tinnevely (1903) and the Mar Thoma Syrian Christians also reflected



the growing concern for reaching their countrymen for Christ. Christ, The Desire of India was the confession of more than one convert.<sup>1</sup>

The transfer of authority produced a problem of its own. The appearance of numerous converts and congregations necessitated discipleship and the training of national leadership. The "patriarchal" system of the first part of the century had to go. In the churches of the North there were hundreds and thousands of converts from Islam.<sup>2</sup> The revolutionizing principles of self-support, self-government, and self-extensive as advocated by R. Anderson and H. Venn seemed most rational when the adolescent churches were struggling for independence. But more problems appeared however when these principles were pressed too far. In making the National Church the ultimate in order to avoid "spoon feeding", the movement came dangerously near breaking contact between parent and daughter bodies and the withdrawal of the Mission Societies. Some failed to observe that gifts and personnel can pass from one church to another without "imperialism". While Roland Allen continued to press for radical application of the "three selves" concept, others early in the twentieth century saw that what was needed was cooperation, a partnership in mission which acknowledged the interdependence of all the brethren in the Church worldwide. The Church in India was able to maintain a healthy blend of the indigenous and ecumenical in both Church and mission.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. S. K. Datta, The Desire of India (Edinburgh, 1908).

<sup>2</sup>Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 212. Also valuable for examining the growth of church and mission are: J. P. Jones (editor), The Year Book of Missions in India, Burma, and Ceylon, 1912 (India, 1912) and P. O. Philip, Report on a Survey of Indigenous Christian Efforts in India, Burma and Ceylon (Poona, 1928).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. H. Kraemer, Christian Message, pp. 424f.; Neill, History of Christian Missions, pp. 256ff.; and Peter Beyerhaus, "The Three Selves Formula: Is it Built on Biblical Foundations," I.R.M., 53 (1964), pp. 393-407. Beyerhaus notes: "What conclusion can we reach, after weighing both the truth and the dangers contained in Anderson's and Venn's idea of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church as the goal of missions? Firstly, it must be said that this formula can never be the one absolute goal of missions....The goal of missions is nothing less than the proclamation of the Kingdom in the whole world, until Christ, the

This had direct bearing on the approaches made to Muslims and others. The Indian Church took charge of evangelism, the work of "proclamation" very early. This meant that more Muslims encountered Indian evangelists and pastors (often themselves converts from Islam). While Indians assumed the bulk of this work, many missionaries continued to participate in itinerant evangelism insisting that only by this down-to-earth labor could they identify themselves with their Indian colleagues and the spiritual needs of the people. Evangelism, it has been noted, developed from a medieval to a modified apologetic. While some Indian evangelists retained an "aggressive" approach to Muslims, most sought a more attractive proclamation of the Gospel. "Institutional" operations were the slowest to be transferred to the Indian Church. While much of the literature for Muslims was written and distributed by nationals, Overseas Missions continued to supervise and support most of the 40 presses and 100 periodicals existing in 1914. Educational institutions were slow to come under Indian jurisdiction. St. Stephen's College, Delhi was one of the first to have an Indian president, S. K. Rudra. This set the pattern other institutions would follow. Gradually gaining higher positions on faculties, Christian Nationals could project an inspiring example and influence in Indian life. Medical institutions tended to remain under foreign control even longer due to the expensive and technical nature of the work. It also took considerable time for the "servant-role" of medical work and nursing to catch on in caste-minded India. Indian Christian doctors and nurses were true pioneers in creating a public conscience and program of welfare work for the masses. The

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Lord of missions, returns. Secondly, although the formula once served as an excellent strategical challenge, we can hardly continue to use it, in view of the fact that it has already been found to lead to an attitude of self-sufficiency and jealousy, incompatible with the ecumenical age in which we now live. The truth will not die with the formula. In the future, every church in the world will be asked to be faithful to the Church's threefold ministry of leiturgia, diakonia and martyria. But we shall have to insist increasingly that this ministry should be fulfilled in accordance with Christ's will for the Church, 'ut omnes unum sint'."

combined efforts of Indian and overseas Christians in behalf of orphans, lepers, zenanas, the hungry, diseased and depressed peoples of India gained the respect of many Muslims. In many cases it was Christian service that prepared the way for their consideration of the witness and worship of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Two important lessons had been learned in working with Muslims and others in India. First, a sympathetic, sensitive approach to non-Christian religions and the culture of the land was not contradictory to the objectives and efforts of Christ's mission. While every tradition contributed to this awareness, some of the best examples are found in the writings and work of John Wilson, J. N. Farquahar and E. M. Wherry. Second, it was learned that people are prone to move towards the Christian faith as "social units" as well as individuals. It has been said that about four-fifths of the Protestant church membership came in this fashion. This observation applies to Muslims as well as to the depressed classes.<sup>2</sup> These new findings would yet need to be put into effective practice by those working among Muslims. Maturer efforts in communicating the Gospel and bridging the gulf in Christian-Muslim communal relationships would be seen in men such as Thornton, Gairdner, Zwemer and in the conferences of the twentieth century.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Julius Richter, Indische Missionsgeschichte (Gütersloh, 2nd edition, 1924) esp. pp. 391-449; Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 189ff.; and Jones, Year Book...1912, pp. 344-355.

<sup>2</sup>Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 206. For later attempts to understand the bearing of social units on mission cf. J. W. Pickett, Christian Mass Movements in India. A Study with Recommendations (Cincinnati, 1933) and the writings of D. A. MacGavran, How Churches Grow, etc.



Chapter III. REFORMED AND ANGLICAN MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS IN THE NEAR EAST, 1800-1910: ENCOUNTER WITH ECCLESIASTICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN MUSLIM EVANGELIZATION

OPENING THE NEAR EAST TO PROTESTANT MISSIONS

Factors in the Ottoman Recession and the Rise of Western Influence

The tremendous movement from West to East in the nineteenth century, like the earlier Arab-Islamic movement in the reverse direction, is one of the significant facts of history. As a tide flowing into a great basin, it represented the penetration of one civilization by another. There is no doubt that the Christian faith in its expansion harnessed the currents of this larger movement. Yet it is even more important to note that although Christian missions travel the same road used by traders, warriors, and diplomats, their motives are far from identical. Not only do they frequently clash, but Christian missions are often the sharpest critics of Western policies and the advocates of indigenous-national interests. It is at this point that students of history, rightly proud of their own national heritage, occasionally fail to grasp the motives and objectives of Christian missions.<sup>1</sup> It is this waxing disassociation from the political and commercial interests of home countries that differentiates nineteenth century Protestant missions from Christian endeavors in previous centuries:

"Latourette's monumental studies have shown, in the nineteenth century Protestant missions were less directly associated with governments, received less help from them, and were more often in conflict (and effectively so) with colonial policies vis-a-vis the welfare of the people among whom they worked than any since the fourth...by 1914, probably the majority of Protestant

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<sup>1</sup>For example cf. A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1910: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise (London, 1961).

missionaries were working overseas in countries where their homelands held no political control. On so vast a scale this was a new feature of Christian history."<sup>1</sup>

It is valid however to detect certain factors breaching aged walls, opening gates and constructing roadways by which Protestant missionaries might enter the lands of the Near East. While it is difficult to separate cause, symptoms and effects, it is possible to describe some of the forces at work in the recession of the Ottomans and the rise of European and national influences.

Political-military factors in the Ottoman recession included: internal breakdown, territorial losses and growing European inroads. The centralized military nature of Ottoman bureaucratic government centering around the Sultan and his officials gradually isolated Asia Minor from her far-reaching colonies. When this bureaucracy became infested with corruption, favoritism, then suppression and persecution, the normal channels of government between the "main office" and the provinces were disrupted. Lawlessness, unbearable taxation and rebellion increased proportionately.<sup>2</sup> Although the first Sultans were most capable men, the later system of selection and training candidates "virtually precluded the emergence of an effective ruler". The Ottoman state lost its inner purpose, its raison d'être. After mid-eighteenth century this decaying Ottoman system was challenged by Persians, Arabs, Russians and Europeans.<sup>3</sup> This internal decline was paralleled

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. W. R. Hogg, "Protestant Missions, 1864-1914," in History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission. Milestones in the History of Missionary Thinking (W.S.C.F., Geneva, n.a.) pp. 160f. For fuller treatment cf. Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, esp. vol VI; Max Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History (London, 1965); and J. van den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love: An Inquiry into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period between 1689 and 1815 (Kampen, 1956).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East (vol. I, parts I & II, London, 1950-1957), pp. 19ff, 39ff, 201ff.

<sup>3</sup>Bernard Lewis, "Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire," Studia Islamica, 9 (1958), 111-127.

by a chain of provincial rebellions, struggles for independence, and in some colonies the extension of European control. Two disastrous wars (1767-1774, 1788-1792) shattered the myth of Turkish invincibility. The Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) citing Russia as the protector of Christian minorities and granting her real or supposed extraterritorial rights (capitulations) was a turning point.<sup>1</sup> From then on, struggling Serbs, Bulgars, Greeks and others looked to Russia as their champion. It was the beginning of the erosion of the empire with territories continuously being lost to nationalist or European powers.<sup>2</sup> While outlying regions could break contact, Armenians, Assyrians and Maronites within reach of the capital pursued this policy only with disastrous consequences. They became the pawns, the massacre victims, of a vile game of power politics. Equally important was the French and British contest over the Near and Far East. Setting out to destroy British power and seize India, Napoleon invaded Egypt (1798) and began an intense program of establishing French culture. Britain reasserted herself at Waterloo, but the Egypt that had tasted of European learning and independence was no longer content to be an Ottoman pawn. Mohammed Ali in his successful bid for power might well have extended his rule over most of the Turks and Arabs had he not been stopped by a Britain in collusion with the Ottomans. Yet strange enough it was the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at the Battle of Navarino (1827) that gave European fleets control of the Eastern Meditterrean and incidentally provided missionaries and others new freedom of travel. "Politics" remained an inseparable cobweb spread over Near Eastern life. Missionaries would sometimes find themselves opposing both Turkish and European policies and defending the people of the land.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Wilbur W. White, The Process of Change in the Ottoman Empire (Chicago, 1937), pp. 29f.

<sup>2</sup>Lists of these territorial losses with dates are found in Erich Bethmann, Bridge of Islam, A Study of the Religious Forces of Islam and Christianity in the Near East (London, 1953), pp. 96f. and W. Miller, The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1927 (Cambridge, 1936).



Economic factors played a part too. From 1583 onwards, France and Britain became the great commercial rivals of the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> The new factor was the Industrial revolution which made Britain a manufacturer needing raw materials and in turn outlets for the finished goods. Egypt and Syria were first drawn into the "Anglo-European market" and their economies became more dependent. The agrarian system of the Ottomans broke down as Egypt entered into cotton production and lucrative commerce with Europe. This brought on benefits and ills, changes and reactions, felt by missionaries and nationals alike. The construction and control of the Suez Canal symbolize how economics not only helped open the Near East but brought continual pressure upon it.

Intellectual, moral and religious forces were also at work. Demonstrating an amazing ability for assimilation, the Ottomans rapidly reached a Golden Age. By the eighteenth century, they apparently turned to maintain the status quo for "superior" or "defensive" reasons. This led to mental and moral stagnation, the preservation of a delicate balance of power between provinces, millets and bureaus which saw every ambition or move for progress as a threat.<sup>2</sup> During the second period (1451/1517-1622), the dhimmis, especially the ancient Christian millets, found their hopes for independence swamped by a stricter Muslim majority. Because the Empire was a religious rather than national, racial or linguistic structure, their spiritual longings (at times identified with national hopes) were often misinterpreted. By the third period (1622-1800 and 1800-1919), great tensions arose within and between the Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Nestorians, Monophysite Jacobites and Copts, Maronites, Melkites and Latin Catholics as well as Jews and

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Alfred C. Wood, A History of the Levant Company (London, 1935); A. L. Horniker, "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Levant from 1583 to 1612," Journal of Modern History, 18 (1946), 289-305; H. G. Rawlinson, "Early trade between England and the Levant," Journal of Indian History, 2 (1922-23), 107-116; and William Roe Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840. A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, "Decline of the Ottoman Empire..." pp. 125ff; Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, pp. 200-234; and G. Jaschke, "The Moral Decline of the Ottoman Dynasty," W.I., 4 (1955), 10-14.

the Muslim masses. These communal jealousies upset the delicate balance necessary for survival. This process of fragmentation was hastened as millets became segregated ghettos within the empire, each seeking to advance themselves by independent action or by external help. By the Peace of Carlowitz (1699), the millets in the Balkans were making their own way.<sup>1</sup> Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries did not always appreciate this delicate balance within the empire and hastened the process. When they found Eastern Christian laymen reacting against Turkish corruption, excessive taxation and repression and sometimes against their own clergy (e.g. the Greek revolutionaries v.s. the Phanariot Greeks of the capital), they lent their support. The cry for liberty and life by the Eastern brethren plus the concern to evangelize all peoples including Jews and Muslims aroused the interest of Evangelical Christians in Europe, Great Britain and America.

#### Early Protestant Missionary Efforts in the Near East

Early individual Protestant efforts in the Near East were made by von Sonegg (among Muslims in the Balkans, 1540-1560) and Lutheran Peter Heyling who reached Egypt (1632), Abyssinia (1634) and served as a missionary until death (1652).<sup>2</sup> The first organized church mission is to the credit of the Moravians who sent workers to Constantinople (1740), Rumania (1740), Persia (1747-1750) and Egypt (1768-1783). The circumstance of the times did not permit these heroic missions to be continued.<sup>3</sup> Many overlook the fact that the first sustained Protestant

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<sup>1</sup>For an excellent discussion of the three eras experienced by the Ottoman millets, cf. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, pp. 224-295.

<sup>2</sup>Julius Richter, A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East (London, 1910), pp. 89-103.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. J. E. Hutton, "Moravian Missions in Moslem Lands," M.W., 14 (1925), 125-130; John Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren up to 1817 (London, 1827); The Advance Guard: 200 Years of Moravian Missions, 1732-1932 (London, n.d.); and Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren (numerous volumes, London, 1790-).

Mission to the Near East of the nineteenth century was Scottish (1800-1849). The Edinburgh Society gained a charter from Czar Alexander (1802) to establish a colony of converts from non-Christian peoples under Russian rule.<sup>1</sup> They began work at Karass, half-way between the Caspian and Black Seas, while the Glasgow Society began at nearby Kaffraria (1822). Hostile Greek, Turkish and Russian authorities forced the abandonment of these stations, but work at Astrakhan, Caucasian capital on the Caspian Sea, was held for the time as a center for Bible distribution and itinerant preaching.<sup>2</sup> A helpful description of the work is found in William Glen's account of conversations, Muslim objections, and the baptism of Muslim converts on tour.<sup>3</sup> His translation of the Old Testament into Persian and its revision (Tabriz and Teheran, 1838-1842) was a lasting contribution. He personally supervised its printing in Scotland and at the age of seventy (1847) returned to Persia to ascertain its distribution before his death at Teheran (1849). This edition along with Martyn's Persian N.T. was a mainstay for many decades.

The Basel Mission to the Caucasus (1822-1835) was only one of the German settlements in that region.<sup>4</sup> Emperor Alexander granted them a charter to establish schools, seminary, press and churches (1821). Under secretary, T. Blumhardt five workers (incl. Karl G. Pfander) were sent to Tiflis and Shoosha. In addition to Armenian and Russian schools, they made extensive tours in Persia and Mesopotamia.

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<sup>1</sup>Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary Researches in Armenia (London, 1834), p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>The Rev. John Dickson and his friend Melville collected a number of Turkish MSS now on deposit at New College Library, Edinburgh. Cf. John R. Walsh, "The Turkish Manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh," Oriens, 12 (1959), 171-189. Also cf. Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 9f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. W. Glen, Journal of a Tour from Astrakhan to Karass (Edinburgh, 1823).

<sup>4</sup>Wurtemberg evangelicals anticipating the Millennium and believing the area near the Caspian Sea to be the only safe region (an interpretation of the Apocalypse) settled in Georgia about 1817. Although nearly two-thirds of the 1500 families died enroute, seven colonies settled in Odessa and Georgia. Smith and Dwight found some 2,000 souls alive. While the Basel missionaries were distinct from these emigrants, they did help them set up churches.



A number of mullahs and Muslim laymen became "secret believers" and several including Alexander Kasim Beg, professor at Kazan, openly confessed the Christian faith. The missionaries became convinced, however, that it was necessary to enlighten and reform the Armenians that they might be co-workers in the mission to Muslims. This opinion and effort undoubtedly influenced Smith, Dwight and the American Board. The Bible Society of Russia cooperated with both Scottish and Basel missions. Due to a decree of the Russian government, the Basel Mission in this region closed in 1835.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the interest shown by British and American Bible Societies, the several Missions for the Jews attracted attention to the Muslims of the Near East.

### The Pattern of Protestant Missions in the Near East

Protestant Mission Societies coming to the Near East found a set of circumstances quite different from those in India. Three factors contributed to this altered situation. First, politically the Near Eastern countries fell under Muslim rule, the application of Islamic Law. While this study is not primarily concerned with political history, politics will have unavoidable bearing upon many points of church and mission activity. The religious liberty found in India would for many decades stand in contrast to the Near Eastern scene. Second, was the ecclesiastical factor. There were existing ancient Orthodox Churches in most Near Eastern lands which had to be considered as hindrances (i.e. needing reform) or helpmates in the mission to Muslims. No Protestant body accepted the idea that these could be ignored. They were brethren, sharing a life and faith which could be enriched as an end in itself, and/or cultivated as a "means" to more effective mission to

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Smith and Dwight, Researches, pp. 166-205; Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 97-103; and of more novel interest, H. A. Zwick and J. G. Schill, Calmuc Tartary or a Journey from Sarepta to several Calmuc Hordes of the Astracan Government (May 26-August 21, 1823) on behalf of the Russian Bible Society (London, 1831).

Muslims. Third, the majority of the population was Muslim, the obvious object of mission. There were no large groups of depressed classes, Hindus, and others to whom the missionary could turn when frustrated by the exhausting nature of Muslim evangelization. Missionaries and national Christians were caught in the continuing tension between their "Commission in Christ" to these masses and the circumstances crippling their efforts to fulfill it. Environment, "ecclesia", and the ideals of evangelization pulled the concerned worker in many directions at once!

Each Reformed and Anglican Mission force responded to these three basic factors in various ways reflecting their own background and immediate situation. All groups used in various ways the methods discussed in chapter two, e.g. apologetic-evangelistic, educational, medical-service, etc. These will become secondary headings in this chapter. What is of distinctive interest is how each group responds to the above factors. Briefly one might say that the American Board, working in the Ottoman strongholds of Turkey, East Turkey, etc., found little latitude for Muslim work.<sup>1</sup> The Eastern Churches, observed as obstacles to Muslim work, soon became an "end" in themselves. The background of those serving with the Board was also apparent. Influenced by New England "enlightenment", education gained a prominent role. Influenced by the American individual-congregational pattern, scattered Evangelical Congregations appeared. Influenced by American pragmatism, workers tackled the "permitted" spheres when Muslim work was intensely opposed. The two Presbyterian bodies from America were farther removed from the capital and in a more heterodox Muslim society with strong pockets of ancient Christians (Persia, Syria-Lebanon, and Egypt). Their evangelistic background was reflected in dealing with Muslims. Their individualism was modified by their esteem for a presbyterian type of government. Their pragmatism asserted itself towards Muslims

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<sup>1</sup>It was an accepted fact in the Ottoman Empire that the farther you traveled from the capital, the more dependent you were on local authorities. In some cases this resulted in greater liberty and heterodoxy (e.g. Persia) and in other cases in greater fanaticism (e.g. Arabia, Sudan, etc.).

as well as the Eastern churches via education, literature and medical service. The Anglicans were also farther from the capital and in areas acquainted with British influence (esp. Palestine, Persia and Egypt). The Orthodox churches in Palestine were concentrated about the Holy Places, and while in need of reform, powerful enough to resist it. This called for more delicate inter-church dealings. The mixed background of Anglicans (High and Low parties, rational orthodoxy, evangelical piety, liturgical revival, etc.) produced a varying, sometimes conflicting opinion as to the correct relation with Orthodox Churches. The Anglicans were also not without utilitarians who contended that everything must be directed towards evangelizing Muslims. By the turn of the century, their number had increased. Reformed Churches (Reformed Church in America and Churches of Scotland) who turned to Arabia found themselves in the ultra-conservative (at times fanatic) heart of Islam. In the absence of ancient Churches, their sole objective was to evangelize the Muslim populace and to form an indigenous Evangelical Church. It was only the background of their strong "Evangelical" conviction and zeal that could have directed them to this near "impossible" task. Their Presbyterianism was bolstered by strong individualism (at least in case of the founders of these Missions). They too were pragmatic and realized that medicine, schools and literature were required means for getting a toehold in the obdurate soil. It will be observed that the hostile environment of the Near East makes both individual missionary and Muslim convert more dependent upon the Mission organization than in India.

Creating adequate titles to describe the minute differences of policy or approach is most difficult. The captions selected have been based on the group's response to three objectives. This might be diagrammed thus:

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Gibb and Bowen found that a German, French, English and Italian bibliography for the Near East in the nineteenth century alone listed over 20,000 titles. It remained a formidable task to sort superficial travelogues, hearsay, etc. from reliable accounts. In addition there are quantities of Greek, Arabic and Turkish sources. A great mass of Ottoman records and chronicles remain largely unexamined and unpublished in Istanbul. Cf. *Islamic Society and the West*, pp. 11.



Body:

Objectives and their Priority:

THE AMERICAN	Encouraging Reform within the Orthodox Churches.	Reforming Orthodox Churches by establishing Evangelical Churches.	Evangelizing Muslims and forming Evangelical Churches.
Initial Policy, Explorations and Establishment, 1815-1840			
American Board:	First intent (hence entitled the "Via Eastern Churches" approach to Muslims.)	Soon immediate goal.	Ultimate goal.
Presbyterians from America:	Secondary (hence entitled the "Two-Pronged Approach".)	A primary goal.	A primary goal.
Anglicans:			
Various stages:			
1st (1815-1840)	Primary	(only as a ministry to ex-patriates)	Ultimate goal.
2nd (1841-1890)	Continued	Undeclared goal (at times drawing from Orthodox Churches)	Emerging as a more immediate goal.
3rd (1890-1910)	Continued as church to church relationship (hence entitled "Varying relations with Orthodox Churches and an Emerging Mission to Muslims".)	Rejected	Immediate goal.
Reformed-Presbyterian Action in Arabia:	-----	-----	Primary goal.
	(hence entitled "Pioneer Missions to Muslims in Arabia".)		

It now remains to examine in detail these Reformed and Anglican approaches and activities. Resources for Near Eastern history are certainly not wanting.<sup>1</sup> This study will concentrate upon the first hand documents of the missionaries and societies actually engaged in field work.

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<sup>1</sup>Gibb and Bowen found that a German, French, English and Italian bibliography for the Near East in the nineteenth century alone listed over 20,000 titles. It remained a formidable task to sort superficial travelogues, hearsay, etc. from reliable accounts. In addition there are quantities of Greek, Arabic and Turkish sources. A great mass of Ottoman records and chronicles remain largely unexamined and unpublished in Istanbul. Cf. Islamic Society and the West, pp. 1f.

THE AMERICAN BOARD: DEVELOPMENT OF A "VIA THE EASTERN CHURCH" APPROACH

Initial Policy, Explorations and Establishment: 1818-ca. 1840

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) operated the most comprehensive and stable mission program in the Near East in the nineteenth century. This Board, composed largely of Congregational Churches of New England, included a number of other "Reformed" bodies on the Eastern seaboard, e.g. "Old School" Presbyterians until the split of 1837, the Reformed Church in America until the 1850s, and the "New School" Presbyterians until their reunion with the "Old School" in 1870. Rufus Anderson, the outstanding secretary of this early era was personally acquainted with all the missionaries except Parsons and Fisk.

The Board's ultimate objective in the Near East and elsewhere was nothing less than the winning of all peoples to the Kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup> The basic policy regarding how the Muslims of the Near East should be approached was soon forthcoming. Representing the Board, Anderson wrote:

"We may not hope for the conversion of the Mohammedans unless true Christianity be exemplified before them by the Oriental Churches....Hence a wise plan for the conversion of the Mohammedans of Western Asia necessarily involved, first a mission to the Oriental Churches."<sup>2</sup>

In the Report of 1819, the Prudential Committee was not too optimistic about the state of the Eastern Churches:

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<sup>1</sup>For basic historical sources of the A.B.C.F.M., cf. Rufus Anderson, History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches (2 vols., Boston, 1872); Joseph Tracy, History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (New York, 2nd ed., 1842); William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board (Boston, 1910); Annual Reports (A.B.C.F.M., Boston, 1810-); and Missionary Herald (A.B.C.F.M., Boston, 1821- ).

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 1.

"In Palestine, Syria, the provinces of Asia Minor, Armenia, Georgia, and Persia, though Mohammedan countries, there are many thousands of Jews, and many thousands of Christians, at least in name. But the whole mingled population is in a state of deplorable ignorance and degradation,—destitute of the means of divine knowledge, and bewildered with vain imaginations and strong delusions."<sup>1</sup>

This critical opinion was confirmed rather than changed by extensive travels and surveys on the field. To their Protestant eyes, the ills were deep-rooted and doctrinal:

"Their views of the Trinity, and of the divine and human natures of Christ, are not unscriptural; but their views of the way of salvation through the Son, and of the work of the Holy Spirit, are sadly perverted. The efficacy of Christ's death for the pardon of sin, is secured to the sinner, they supposed, by baptism and penance. The belief is universal, that baptism cancels guilt, and is regeneration....Being thus freed from the condemning power of original sin, and regenerated by baptism, men were expected to work their way to heaven by observing the laws of God and the rites of the Church."<sup>2</sup>

It was concluded that if Muslims and other non-Christian peoples in the Near East were to be won to Christ, it must be by a mission to and "Via the Eastern Churches". The first missionaries were, however, in no way restricted. Secretary Worcester instructed Fisk and Parsons destined for Jerusalem thus:

"You will survey with earnest attention the various tribes and classes who dwell in that land and in the surrounding countries. The two grand inquiries ever present in your minds will be, What good can be done? and By what means? What can be done for Jews? What for Pagans? What for Mohammedans? What for Christians? What for the people of Palestine? What for those in Egypt, in Syria, in Persia, in Armenia, in other countries to which your inquiries may be extended?"<sup>3</sup>

Parsons' farewell sermon in Boston was on "The Dereliction and Restoration of the Jews", but he was soon to focus more intently upon the Oriental Churches.

The years 1818-1831 were years of exploration and survey. The American Board was determined to gain first hand information before launching into a major program. Accurate reports regarding the religious conditions of Near Eastern lands were still wanting in America. Two major explorations were carried out under Fisk

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, ix.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 2f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 10.



and Parsons (1818-1820) and Dwight and Smith (1830-1831). Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons reached Malta (1819) and after conversations with William Jowett (C.M.S.) and Wilson (L.M.S.), settled at Smyrna, Turkey (1820). From this base they visited the region of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, Jerusalem and then Beirut (1821). In another effort to reach Jerusalem, ill health forced Parsons to Alexandria where he died (1822).<sup>1</sup> Fisk was soon joined by two valuable recruits: Daniel Temple and Jonas King (1792-1869).<sup>2</sup> Fisk, King and the celebrated Joseph Wolff journeyed to Jerusalem via Alexandria, Cairo and the desert (1823). Political unrest and climate soon prompted them to move to the more secure city of Beirut. Here their ranks were bolstered by the arrival of William Goodell and Isaac Bird (1832), Eli Smith (1827), Harrison Gray Otis Dwight (1830), George B. Whiting and Dr. Dodge (1835), John F. Lanneau (1836), Charles S. Sherman (1839), Dr. Harves (1844) and others.

A two month conference of the Board's missionaries and Secretary Anderson at Malta (1828) determined much of the future course of action. Whiting and Bird returned to Syria to continue the work begun in 1823. Goodell proceeded to Constantinople to inaugurate a program there. The exploration of the largely unknown regions of Turkey-Armenia-Persia was committed to Smith and Dwight. At the risk of life, they made the dangerous journey along the "high road" from Constantinople via Armenia, Transcaucasia, Kurdistan to Tabriz and the return via

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Daniel O. Morton, Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, First Missionary to Palestine from the United States (Burlington, 1830); Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 1-15; and H. H. Jessup, Fifty-Three Years in Syria (2 vols., New York, 1910) I, 32ff. For the life of Fisk also cf. Alvan Bond, Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk (Edinburgh, 1828); James Gardner, Memoirs of Christian Missionaries (Edinburgh, 1850); and H. W. Pierson (ed.), American Missionary Memorial (New York, 1853), pp. 245-262.

<sup>2</sup>Temple served 23 years with the Board in the Near East. Cf. Life and Letters of Rev. Daniel Temple. By his son, Rev. Daniel H. Temple (Boston, 1855). Jonas King, had recently been appointed professor of Oriental Languages at Amherst College and was studying Arabic in Paris when he volunteered for his first term of three years. He later became the key figure of the Mission in Greece and helped link its Evangelical Community with New College, Edinburgh.

Trebizond on the Black Sea (total mileage, 2500) in 1830-1831. Their report not only prompted the Board to begin extensive programs among Armenians and Nestorians and limited direct work with Muslims but was read in America and Europe as a valuable primary document for nearly forty years!

This report, Researches in Armenia, deserves attention as a "policy shaper".<sup>1</sup> The Basel missionaries encountered apparently were a fountain of information and opinion. In this document, Smith and Dwight remark frequently about the haughtiness of the Turkish Muslims, especially the nomadic Turks living by the law of the survival of the strongest. Many of the Muslims living in the larger villages and cities gave evidence of their Christian and non-Arab backgrounds. Some Greeks and Armenians about Trebizond were "still secretly Christian" who "reduced to despair by the oppression of their Turkish masters...embraced the Mohammedan faith".<sup>2</sup> The travelers found the Persian Muslims refined and better educated than their Turkish counterparts. While respecting the Persians' religious tolerance and cool ability to discuss the merits of various religions, they frequently suspected their diplomacy was cover for deceitful enterprise, e.g. bribes for official papers, etc. They noted the various strands of Islam in Persia:

"Most of the higher class of the nobility and the learned profession, indeed pay little regard even to the external forms of religion, and are at heart infidels or sceptics. In fact, Soofy is known to be little better than another name for the sceptic....You must not understand that all Persians are inclined to free-thinking. The mass of the people are not only very sincere in their faith, but have decidedly an appearance of greater strictness in the observance of their rites than even the Turks....Even among the free-thinking part of the community a nearer view will discover hardly an easier access for the truth. They are either wrapt in a bewildering labyrinth of philosophical speculation or are utterly regardless of all religion...."<sup>3</sup>

They perceived that a convert to Christianity might gain the Shah's official protection yet face the wrath of mullahs and masses. Visiting the Nestorians at

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<sup>1</sup>Researches in Armenia (London, 1834) by Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight contains 24 letters covering various stages of the survey with full descriptions of the land, people and customs of various Muslim, Armenian and Nestorian groups; their beliefs, superstitions and practices as seen through the eyes of American Evangelicals in the 1830s.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 457.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 340f.

Urumia, they were warmly received and filled with hope:

"Permit me to add to this report of our visit to the Nestorians, some considerations respecting the expediency of establishing a mission in this part of Persia.--We have little to say, in addition to the account already given of the Persian Moslems, to enable you to judge what would be the prospects of a mission established specially for them. Such a mission we are not prepared decidedly to recommend; though our persuasion is strong, that a missionary, while directing his attention expressly and primarily to the Christian population, would find many occasions and means of doing good to the followers of Mohammed also, as a secondary branch of labour....But to the Nestorians of Oormiah we would specially direct your attention...."<sup>1</sup>

Smith and Dwight came to the conclusion that the Eastern Churches, Greek, Armenian and Nestorian must be reached and revived before any appreciable "good" could be done for non-Christians in the Near East:

"In view of the extensive ground we have surveyed, a few thoughts arise with which you will permit us to close the report of our tour....It is the deeply affecting spiritual condition of the people we have visited, calling upon us to labour for their conversion to Christ.

"Of those people, the nominal Christians have engrossed the most of our attention.--To give them the same prominence in your own, we might mention the name they bear--the same holy name by which we are called....that the religion we hold so dear is made the hereditary scorn of Mohammedans?

"But, of the considerations which above all others deserve to be named, the first is, that they are in a perishing state. Though called Christians, they are all out of the way and fatally so....The only apology that can be made for them is the stale one....they are sincere in believing that their superstitious rites and ceremonies will cancel their sins....We would suggest respecting them is, that their reformation is practicable...."<sup>2</sup>

The team was not neglectful of the Muslims. The Muslims were to remain an ultimate, if delayed, objective to be attained through the reformation and witness of the Eastern Churches:

"Another important consideration is the relation in which these nominal Christians stand toward Mohammedans. Their present influence is exceedingly to be deprecated. The Moslem has hitherto known Christianity only as the religion of the Christians around him. And in such a position are they placed by his oppressive laws that in all the associations of his earlier and riper years, they occupy the rank of despised inferiors. Such too, I am sorry to say, is their conduct, that he has ever been able to look upon the comparative practical effects of their Christianity and of his Mohammedanism with self-congratulation. Never in the course of their history have Mohammedans been brought in contact with any form of Christianity that was not too degenerate in its rites, its doctrines, and its effects to be worthy of their

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 409f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 461f.



esteem. Preach to him Christianity, therefore, and the Moslem understands you to invite him to embrace a religion which he has always regarded as beneath him, and as less beneficial than his own....Let every missionary station raise up from the corrupt mass of nominal Christians round it, a goodly number of true followers of the Lamb, and it will be a city set on a hill which cannot be hid, a light to lighten the Gentiles also....Restore to them their primitive purity, therefore, and the prop upon which Mohammedanism has so long stayed itself is gone, and it must fall."<sup>1</sup>

It may be commented that the team lacked appreciation for the strengths of the Orthodox Churches, nevertheless their analysis would form the backbone of the Board's policy. While they expected Islam's early collapse, they were not blind to its fearful present powers and the long contest ahead.

"...Mohammedan law denounces death without mercy upon every apostate from Mohammedanism; and wherever that law is in force, direct attempts to make proselytes may naturally be regarded as highly objectionable. But by labouring among Christians, we gain an easy entrance into the heart of our enemy's territory....The bearing of our labours in Western Asia upon Mohammedanism increased inconceivably their importance; and we look with intense interest upon every new station that is formed as an additional intrenchment thrown up against the armies of the false prophet."<sup>2</sup>

In its first fifty years of work the American Board established eight Missions to Palestine, Syria, Greece, Armenians (Turkey-Armenia), Nestorians, Assyrians (Eastern Turkey-Iraq), Jews and Muslims. The bulk of this energy was directed towards the Oriental Churches. The early objective was to stimulate Orthodox Churches to reform, but gradually the idea that this might mean forming Evangelical Churches emerged. By 1842, Rufus Anderson reported to the Board and it responded with this resolution:

"...2. The great object of our missions to the Oriental Christian communities, should be the revival of spiritual religion, the conversion of souls to Christ, the wide diffusion of the great regenerative idea of justification by faith alone, and not a controversy with the hierarchies of these communities about particular institutions, forms, and ceremonies.

"...4. Whenever those Oriental churches, having had the Gospel fairly proposed to them, shall reject it, excising and casting out from their communion those who receive it,---...then it will be necessary for our missionary brethren to turn from them...and to call on all God's children to come out from among them and not to be partakers."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 464f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 465f.

<sup>3</sup>Annual Report, 1842 (A.B.C.F.M., Boston, 1842) pp. 57-85. Similar instructions were given to Cyrus Hamlin, cf. Missionary Herald, (Boston, 1839), 39-44.

Time and space does not permit a full detailed examination of the history of all eight "Missions" but the following four have been selected:

1. The Mission to the Armenians (Turkey-Armenia).
2. The Missions to the Nestorians-Assyrians prior to the transfer of 1870.
3. The Mission to Syria prior to 1870.
4. Limited direct efforts among Muslims before 1910.

In each case, the application of the above policies will be examined.

### Among the Armenians and Peoples of Turkey, 1831-1910.

#### Ecclesiastical Relationships

The American Board began work in Turkey-Armenia-Kurdistan in 1831 with the arrival of William Goodell at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Their first objective was to stimulate reform among the Orthodox Churches of these areas. Literary-evangelism and education became the two prime channels for achieving this goal. Genius and longevity strengthened the work. William Goodell (1792-1867) served in the capital (1831-1865) demonstrating qualities well suited to his task:

"He was evidently just the man for the peculiar and multiplied types of human character to be found among the Orientals. His plan was to exert an influence over those with whom he came in contact, without having the appearance of influencing them at all, and so to avoid exciting opposition. He aimed at securing a moral and religious reformation among the people, not by outside demonstrations so much as by leading the people to adopt by themselves those principles and measures that would secure the end....So, also in the work of evangelization. He had not come to do a work of proselyting. He did not feel called upon to make an open assault upon the Greek and Armenian churches....His aim was to cast the leaven into the existing church organizations...knowing that...the movement for a purer church would come from themselves."<sup>2</sup>

His major contribution was the translation of the Bible into Armeno-Turkish (Turkish in Armenian script). Other contributions to "proclamation" and publication

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<sup>1</sup>Richter reports that in 1906 these areas contained about 2.5 million Christians and nearly 10 million Muslims. Missions in the Near East, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>E. G. Prime, Forty Years in the Turkish Empire. Memoirs of Rev. Wm. Goodell, D.D. (New York, 4th ed., 1877), pp. 170-172.

came from H. G. O. Dwight (1803-1862),<sup>1</sup> William Schauffler (1798-1883) a converted Jew, and Jonas King (1792-1869). The outstanding linguist and professor Elias Riggs (1810-1901) made four major translations of the Bible and taught Greek and theology in mission schools in Argos (Greece), Smyrna and Constantinople. This literary tradition was carried on by his son, Edward Riggs, Henry O. Dwight (son of H. G. O. Dwight), Henry S. Barnum, and George Herrick.<sup>2</sup> Their Turkish-Armenian Press (shifted from Malta to Constantinople) poured out a torrent of Scriptures, Bible handbooks, school texts, devotional books, tracts, etc. to a region athirst for learning.

Grammar schools were begun at Constantinople (1834) and each new station by either missionaries or Armenian associates according to the Lancasterian Plan.<sup>3</sup> Mission boarding schools for boys and girls at key centers afforded opportunity for more intensive biblical instruction. Soon the Mission observed that if revival was to come the Armenian clergy must be reached and so a preparatory theological institution was begun at Bebek, six miles from the capital, under the energetic Cyrus Hamlin. While primarily for Armenians, a few Greeks, Bulgarians and Muslims also enrolled.

The reformation of the whole Armenian or "Gregorian" Church appeared most feasible at first. Armenian laymen were open to European "progress" and education.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. A. O. Dwight, Christianity Revived in the East; or A Narrative of the Work of God Among the Armenians of Turkey (New York, 1850) or its second edition Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church (London, 1854), a prime source for this period.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. esp. George Herrick, Christian and Mohammedan, A Plea for Bridging the Chasm (New York/London, 1912).

<sup>3</sup>This Plan was originally developed by Mr. Bell in Madras and taken to England where Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) gave it wider fame and helped its spread to India, Africa, N.E. and U.S.A. The system used conduct monitors and teaching monitors drawn from the more advanced students. It was thus possible for one teacher to control several hundred children, and to establish more schools with a limited amount of finances.



The scholarly priest Gregory Peshtimaljian, the Erasmus of the Armenian Reformation, founded a seminary (1829) and many of his students became leaders of the Evangelical Movement. Missionaries worked in most cordial relations with the Armenian ecclesiastical structure and Armenians began to demonstrate a hidden vitality they had retained during the long years under Muslim rule. As new stations began at Nicomedia, Brusa, Adabaza, Trebizond and Erzerum, priests and people manifested a new spirit of prayer and bible study. An Armenian Evangelical Union was formed (1839) but it too remained within the Church working for the mutual encouragement of all.

Suddenly a storm broke loose when Patriarch Matteos backed the reactionary element for somewhat unknown reasons.<sup>1</sup> It may have been the fear of loss of authority by the hierarchy, or that a "lively Christianity" would invite Muslim persecution and destroy the limited security of the millet. Whatever the cause, a solemn anathema was issued against Vertanes, a known Evangelical Priest (January 25, 1846) and another against all who shared Evangelical views. Because of the civil authority of the Patriarch over his millet, this became total economic and social boycott of the "accursed". It was a reaffirmation of the values of icons, relics, the honor of the Virgin and the seven sacraments. Some thirty evangelicals were bastinadoed, imprisoned or exiled and over 100 ejected from their homes and vocations.<sup>2</sup> While the Mission would henceforth continue to

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<sup>1</sup>The exact cause for the hierarchy's appeal to the Sultan to banish or imprison the reformers is difficult to determine. Perhaps the Sultan had been delayed by the Egyptian-Turkey War (1831-1841) in which he depended on European favors. Hostile Jesuits would have supported the idea. Dwight accused American Episcopal Bishop Horatio Southgate of personally advising Matteos to subdue the "dissenters". Cf. Dwight, Christianity Revived, pp. 211-13. The fairest and fullest treatment of the matter is found in P. E. Shaw, American Contacts with the Eastern Churches, 1820-1870, (Chicago, 1937). Cyrus Hamlin believed that the Patriarch was under pressure from Russia to root out this new heresy of Protestantism and democratic ideals. My Life and Times (Boston, 1893), pp. 284, 353f, 406ff.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 386-426 and Dwight, Christianity Revived, pp. 326-332.

encourage reform in the Armenian Orthodox Church, its attitude would become more aggressive.

### The Armenian Evangelical (Protestant) Churches

With little other option but recanting, forty evangelicals in Constantinople met to form the first Armenian Evangelical Church, drafting a "Declaration of Reason for Organizing", confession of faith, covenant and rules of discipline. Within a week the Congregation chose their own Pastor. Similar congregations formed at Nicomedia, Adabazar, Aintab, Trebizond and Erzerum. These six churches with 166 members (May, 1848) were destitute of material means and for a time dependent upon gifts of Christians in Europe and America. Only slowly did their political-social-economic status improve.<sup>1</sup> Yet it was a "Reformation", stimulated and continued by the preaching of the Gospel and the two powerful auxiliaries of education and the press. While the Evangelical ministry and congregations were soon the primary agency for the expansion of reformed ideas, the Mission served as counselor, trainer, and supporter with its schools, seminaries, finances and personnel.<sup>2</sup> While the full narrative of the American Board-Armenian Evangelical Church cannot be described here, certain stages may be mentioned. First, there was a Period of Expansion covering fifty years (1846-1895) in which both Church and Mission experienced tremendous growth.<sup>3</sup> Second, there came the Years of Crisis, 1895-1896, when the world was shocked by the first tragic Armenian

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<sup>1</sup>Dwight, Christianity Revived, pp. 267ff and Richter, Missions in the Near East, pp. 113ff.

<sup>2</sup>Dwight, Christianity Revived, pp. 259-263 and Leon Arpee, The Armenian Awakening (Chicago, 1909).

<sup>3</sup>By 1895 the Board had in Turkey-Armenia: 14 stations, 268 outstations, 46 ordained and educational, 1 medical, 63 lady missionaries plus 42 wives (total 152). Nearly 800 Armenian workers included 90 pastors, 117 catechists, 529 teachers and 66 others. The 111 churches listed 11,835 full members, 20,000 adherents and Sunday Schools enrolling 32,092 adults and 24,132 children or a total Protestant community of about 50,000 souls. Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 134.

Massacres.<sup>1</sup> Third, came the Era of Relief, Recovery...and Redirection 1896-1910. The distinct characteristics of this American Board-Evangelical Church activity will be examined below.

### Political Factors Affecting the Evangelical Churches and Muslim Work

Political factors affected the Armenian Evangelical Churches and Muslim Work most radically. Western governments, especially Britain's Sir Stratford Canning, Ambassador at Constantinople, played a responsible role in the various intercessions to improve the status of Christians, esp. Protestants in the Near East. The various stages and documents aimed at this might be listed thus:

1. The National Charter of equal rights for all peoples, Muslims, Christians and others in the Ottoman Empire, 1840 and the Hatti Sherif of Gul Hane, November 3, 1839.
2. Alleged Abolition of the death penalty for religious opinion of apostasy, 1843.
3. Release of Protestants (Evangelicals) from the Armenian Patriarch's control over trade licenses, passports, marriage and burial permits, December, 1846.

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<sup>1</sup>The Armenians were torn between ever wavering promises by Russia, Britain, and the hope of recovering a homeland. When a few agitated for this (1894), Turkish authorities and Kurdish raiders were given adequate excuse for a "blood bath". Even the seasoned Latourette writes, "Thereupon the Ottoman Government, in an endeavour to preserve its authority, connived at and even ordered extensive massacres. These were by Turks and Kurds and wrought great destruction among the Armenian communities". Expansion of Christianity, VI, 47. Richter summarizes the tragedy: 88,243 Armenians killed including 10,000 Evangelicals; 175 Orthodox priests and 25 Evangelical ministers tortured and killed; 646 Christian villages and 55 priests yield to Islam under threat of death (of which only a few are given liberty to return to Christianity); 568 churches including 50 Protestant ones lost (of which 282 were turned into mosques); 500,000 Armenians in some 2,493 villages robbed; 100,000 widows and orphans left destitute to face the terrible hard winter (1895-96). Missions in the N.E., pp. 143ff. For fuller documentation, cf. F. D. Greene, The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of The Turk (London, 1895); J. Rendel Harris, Letters from Armenia (New York, 1897); Edwin M. Bliss, Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities (Philadelphia, 1896); W. J. Wintle, Armenia and Its Sorrows (London, 1896), Krikor Behesnilian, Armenian Bondage and Carnage (London, 1903); The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Documents presented to Viscount Grey ...and...the Houses of Parliament (London, 1916); and Hagop Chakakjian, Armenian Christology and Evangelization of Islam (Leiden, 1965), pp. 95-108. Regardless of causes and moral judgements, it was a holocaust of personal suffering, death and sorrow.



4. A Letter from the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador establishing the ecclesiastical independence of the Protestant Armenians, November 19, 1847.

5. An Imperial Decree (firman) by the Sultan recognizing the Protestant Community as a distinct millet or religious-civil community, sometimes called the Protestant Charter, 1850. (This Decree was only communicated to all the pashas of the Empire about 1853, hence giving fuller protection to Protestants outside the capital.)

6. Documents giving Christian evidence/testimony equal rank with that of Muslims in Turkish Courts.

7. The famous Hatti Humayun (Imperial Decree or firman) establishing religious liberty for all, February, 1856.

8. The Treaty of Paris (1856), especially the ninth article.<sup>1</sup>

These developments were taken to mean two things. First, Protestants had gained an identity of their own and were independent of Orthodox interference. Second, many Christians and Muslims too, saw the Hatti Humayun as ushering in a new era of religious and other liberties not unlike those known in Europe! Even missionaries were buoyant. In 1857, Jewett wrote:

"Never within the same space of time, has there been as much religious discussion with the Mussulmans as since the issue of the late firman, and never before, I think, has there been such a spirit of religious inquiry among Mohammedans and readiness to discuss the merits of the Christian religion, as had been evident during the past year. It has awakened hope of a good day even for the Moslems."<sup>2</sup>

After the Decree of 1850, the Evangelical Churches were free to advance and that they did until the tragic Massacres of 1895-1896. The hot-cold waverings, interference and indifference of Russia, Britain and other Western powers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century in actuality appears to have only made life more difficult for the enlightened Armenian Evangelical Community. Their political life improved somewhat from the Turkish Revolution to the Abolition of the Caliphate as some dared hope for genuine religious liberty and representative government for all. Later restrictions

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<sup>1</sup>Copies of the texts of many of these documents are found in Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 8ff, 32ff; Prime, Memoirs of Wm. Goodell, pp. 480-89; and Dwight, Christianity Revived, pp. 267-290.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 44f.

on Christian schools, evangelism and literature would indicate the emergence of a secular-nationalistic state with strong Islamic overtones. The age-old encounter of Church and environment had not yet ended. It is a testimony to the courageous Faith of the Armenian Evangelical Church that it was stronger in 1908 than in 1895.<sup>1</sup>

#### Characteristics of the Life and Activity of the Armenian Evangelical Churches and the American Board

The first characteristic of these two bodies was a strong individualism and independence which gradually moved towards a "Church maturity". The New England spirit of integrity and self-reliance found early welcome among the industrious Armenians. The "congregational" pattern aimed at democratic self-government and self-support from the start. Stewardship was often learned only with pain however as the "destitute" beginning had led to a financial dependence.<sup>2</sup> While all congregations had a similar Confession of Faith, Covenant and Rules of Discipline, each was an autonomous body. At times regulations were as strict as any in New England. For example at Diarbekr, the Congregation founded by medical missionary Azariah Smith admitted only eleven of fifty Armenian and Jacobite applicants to the Lord's Table (1851).<sup>3</sup> Congregations were expected to rear their own pastors and to

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<sup>1</sup>Communicants had increased by a third and adherents had almost doubled. In 1908, there were 130 churches, 15,748 communicants, 41,802 adherents, 92 pastors, 102 lay preachers, 728 teachers, 8 colleges, 41 boarding and high schools, 312 elementary schools with a total of 20,861 students. The American Board had 20 stations, 269 outstations, and 42 ordained, 12 medical and 68 lady missionaries. Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 160.

<sup>2</sup>Financial assistance came from the American Board and England via the "Turkish Mission Aid Society" founded in 1854 (later named "The Bible Lands' Mission Aid Society"). This Society was formed by C. G. Young, the Earl of Shaftesbury, etc. when H. G. O. Dwight asked "How can British Christians help the Missions in Turkey?" Its support of existing missions, native evangelists, church construction, literature and schools extended also to Syria, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, etc. Cf. W. A. Essery, The Ascending Cross, Some Results of Missions in Bible Lands. Stories of help given through the Bible Lands Mission's Aid Society in Fifty Years, 1854-1904 (London, 1905).

<sup>3</sup>Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 122f.

evangelize the surrounding districts as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup> Because they were left on their own, congregations felt isolated and began to form unions such as those of Kharput (1865), Bithynia (1864), Central Turkey (1868), Cilcia, etc. After about 1860, the Evangelical Churches entered into improved relations with the Orthodox Churches and in many places cooperated in schools, bible distribution and study, prayer and even preaching services. The progressive-reform wing of the mother church, while not "Protestant" considered itself truly "evangelical". Protestant Armenians (about 85% literate) were stimulating a mental, moral, social and perhaps "political" revolution by 1872. Anderson wrote: "Protestant ideas of truth, of liberty, of conscience, of progress, are spread far and wide, and are convulsing these nations."<sup>2</sup> This leaven and its reactions are certainly related to the sorrows of 1895-96 and the upheavals of 1908 and 1922. "Missions" also were begun. The Armenian Harpoot Evangelical Union in 1866 resolved to establish their own Mission to the Armenians of Kurdistan and as possible to the Jacobites, Muslims, Kurds and Yezidis of the area. In prayer, training and giving for this work the churches experienced revivals (1867-1872) and the two seminaries at Harpoot were full in 1868 with fifty students each. Here was emerging a new people of Faith with their own unique life and mission in the midst of Islam.

The second characteristic (which some consider the greatest contribution of the American Board in the Near East) was the importance attached to education. This reflected the New England blend of Christian faith, action and democratic ideas. While most of the students were Evangelicals, other youth including Muslims were soon drawn in. Some would later charge that this training of able leaders (with high expectations for a minority group) increased the fears of Turk and

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<sup>1</sup>Dwight quoted by Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 214f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 472, also 113ff, 249ff and Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 134ff.



Kurd.<sup>1</sup> Certainly education was a vital revolutionary force transforming social structures and disturbing the status quo.<sup>2</sup> After the formation of the Evangelical Churches (1846), education took on a serious note. Rufus Anderson pursued his policy that education was to be by Christian teachers for Christian children. Elementary schools for boys and girls were attached to almost every congregation (some 300 schools by 1908). Boarding and High Schools at Mission Stations provided the next level. Soon several of these were developed into colleges for men and women. Theological Seminaries under the various Unions were established and largely manned by Board personnel. In line with Anderson's policy, the seminaries were shifted from the expensive "distractions" of the capital to regional centers at Harpoot, Marsovan, Marash and Mardin "where pastors could learn to identify with people". Vernacular courses reflected the desire not to "deorientalize" the student. This demand for higher education also resulted in Central Turkey College at Aintab (1874), Anatolia College at Marsovan (1886), Euphrates College at Kharput (1876), International College at Smyrna plus women's colleges at Kharput, Marash, and Scutari.<sup>3</sup>

A conflict regarding "educational policy" produced a new phenomenon, independent "Christian" higher education. Cyrus Hamlin (much like Duff) took issue with Anderson, contending that "English" and higher education should be used to reach and evangelize non-Christians. He argued that Anderson's policy failed to meet the actual needs and demands of the capital, made Protestant pastors inferior to bilingual Jesuits, disappointed the Orthodox community and lost the prestige

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<sup>1</sup>The Near East and American Philanthropy, A Survey... by Frank A. Ross, et al. (New York, 1929), p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>James L. Barton, Daybreak in Turkey (Boston, 2nd ed., 1908), pp. 181-193.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 443-457; The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board (Boston, 1904); George E. White, Charles C. Tracy, ...First President of Anatolia College, Marsovan Turkey (Boston, 1918) and Advertising with Anatolia College (Grinnell, Iowa, 1940).

already gained.<sup>1</sup> By his own sheer strength of personality, inventiveness, and a fund-raising lecture tour, he founded what was to be known as Robert College (Bebeck), incorporated in the State of New York with an independent Board of Trustees.<sup>2</sup> Hamlin believed this college would help "to irrigate the parched fields of the ancient churches, and perhaps even the corrupt Turkish society, with life-giving streams of English Christian culture." As President (1863-1873), he used the college workshops, scientific displays and western technology both to benefit students and to give the Evangelical Christian men marketable skills. During the Crimean War, a mill, bakery, laundry and other industry netted a substantial profit. This successful blend of theology and industry was hard to beat!<sup>3</sup> Under Hamlin the enrollment and facilities increased and the school's ability to bridge the differences of race (17 nationalities) and religion (6 religions) in some measure spoke of "Christ's reconciling power". The College was distinctly "Christian" and even Rufus Anderson gave it a salute of praise in 1872.<sup>4</sup> Its graduates gained the highest positions and respect in theology, education, government, law and medicine. Under Presidents C. F. Gates and George Washburn, it maintained a Christian atmosphere until World War I.<sup>5</sup> Its parallel institution at Scutari (1871) under Mary M. Patrick experienced similar growth (1883-1924) as the Constantinople College

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<sup>1</sup>Cyrus Hamlin, My Life and Times (Boston, 1893), p. 414. Also by Hamlin are Among the Turks (Boston, 1878) and "Fifty Years of Missionary Education in Turkey," (2nd in a set of six lectures for 1888-89, Grave's Lectures, Library of New Brunswick Seminary, New Jersey).

<sup>2</sup>Christopher Robert, a New York merchant contributed some \$400,000 before his death (1878).

<sup>3</sup>Hamlin, My Life and Times, pp. 276ff, et passim.

<sup>4</sup>In 1910, only 5% of the students were non-Christian. In 1872 there were prayers morning and evening, Bible study and Sunday worship. Anderson Oriental Churches, II, 450ff.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. G. Washburn, Fifty Years in Constantinople (Boston, 1909), esp. pp. 296ff and Caleb F. Gates, Not to Me Only (Princeton, 1940), pp. 159ff.

for Women.<sup>1</sup> Both schools, known as The American Colleges in Istanbul, Bebek, Istanbul have since drifted out of the Christian orbit.<sup>2</sup>

A third characteristic of American Board was the shift from "evangelistic" to "service" efforts. The Board was a leader in medical missions.<sup>3</sup> Many of the physicians were also ordained ministers organizing and serving congregations. Medicine and evangelism went hand in hand at first. Clinics were established in Muslim centers in order that the Christian demonstration of love and compassion might prepare the way for the Gospel. While medical work did remove many prejudices, it was at times misunderstood (e.g. giving the doctor a chance for "good works") or misused (e.g. simply taking the "foreigner" for what he offers). The massacres prompted a tremendous surge in relief-medical-service work. Nearly one and a half million dollars were raised for relief in the U.S.A. alone. The American Board also became the "administrator" of European contributions. Protestant orphanages (6,000 orphans in 1898, 1,000 by 1907); emergency industries; reconstruction of homes, churches and shops; seed-grain, breeding animals, food and clothing; and other gifts reflected both the compassion and "guilt" of the West. By 1914 some ten hospitals and numerous dispensaries with trained national assistants were

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Mary Mills Patrick, Under Five Sultans (New York, 1929) and A Bosphorus Adventure. Istanbul (Constantinople) Women's College, 1871-1924 (Stanford, 1934) plus H. D. Jenkins, An Educational Ambassador to the Near East (Mary M. Patrick) (New York, 1925).

<sup>2</sup>President Dwight J. Simpson in a letter to the author (Sept. 6, 1966) wrote: "As you will guess, after passage of more than 100 years, Robert College's nature has changed a great deal. We are now an entirely secular institution and indeed this is one of the requirements of Turkish Law that we have no religious content whatever. Missionary activity in any form is explicitly forbidden by Turkish Law and, of course, we fully comply."

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 489ff; W. S. Tyler, Memoir of Rev. Henry Lobdell, M.D., Late Missionary of the American Board at Mosul (Boston, 1859); George Herrick, An Intense Life. A Sketch of the Life and Works of Rev. Andrew T. Pratt, M.D., Missionary...in Turkey, 1852-1872 (New York, n.d.); E. M. Dodd, The Beloved Physician. An Intimate Life of the Wm. S. Dodd (privately printed, 1931); Clarence D. Ussher, An American Physician in Turkey (Boston, 1917); and Alice Shepard Riggs, Shepard of Aintab (New York, 1920).



treating 180,000 patients annually.<sup>1</sup> The sheer masses and quantities of materials handled would in a sense alter the nature of the American Board's work. But other factors too must be considered. New England theology early knew a spirit of "disinterested benevolence" and with the growth of "liberal American theology" the concept of service became a channel of mission preferred by those stressing "experience" over "doctrine". This relief program continued until sometime after World War I. Many hoped that the increased contact with Muslims through the medical-service approach would provide greater success in their evangelization.

### Among the Nestorians of Persia, 1834-1870

The application of the Board's policy among the Nestorians of Persia was most sympathetic and the resulting "Reformation" was for the most part contained within that Orthodox Church until about 1870.<sup>2</sup> Geographically and politically, nineteenth century Persia was truly the "Land in Between".<sup>3</sup> Although the Moravians had attempted to reach the Guebbers (Zoroastrians) in 1747, Joseph Wolff had toured

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<sup>1</sup>Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 149ff and Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 52.

<sup>2</sup>Sources include: Richter, Missions in the Near East, 279ff; A Century of Mission Work in Iran (Beirut, 1936); John Elder, History of the American Presbyterian Mission to Iran, 1834-1960 (Iran, n.d.); Aubrey R. Vine, The Nestorian Churches; a concise history of Nestorian Christianity in Asia from the Persian Schism to the Modern Assyrians (London, 1937); W. C. Ehrhardt, The Oldest Christian People; a Brief Account of the History and Traditions of the Assyrian People and the Fateful History of the Nestorian Church (New York, 1926); A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, The Catholics of the East and His People (Nestorians) (London, 1892); and John Stewart, Nestorian Missionary Enterprise: A Church on Fire (foreward by Samuel M. Zwemer, Edinburgh, 1928).

<sup>3</sup>The great culture and country of Iran (628,000 sq. miles) with its lofty plateaus and desert sands, its varied temperatures, races, and tongues stood "between" Ottoman Turkey, the frontier Kurds, Czarist Russia, the nomadic Afghans and the British presence in India and the Gulf. Anglo-Russian rivalry continued until 1922. By 1850, Russia gained extraterritoriality in the north and Britain in the south. The Shah ruled as an absolute monarch through a grand vizier and a chain of departments according to Shi'ite Law, but the government was notorious for corruption, oppressive taxation, bribery, etc. The mujtahids, Muslim clergy, had control of various legal aspects and were ever in a power struggle with the Shah. Citizens and missionaries often knew not which authority to obey and thus local figures or raiders (e.g. Kurds) made their own "law".

in the 1830s and Basel Mission held a brief station at Tabriz (1833), the most sustained comprehensive mission in Persia from 1834 to 1870 came under the American Board. This work centered among the Nestorians whose Church with its glorious history still maintained a remnant in northwestern Persia on the shores of Lake Urumia and in the mountains of Kurdistan.<sup>1</sup> The Nestorians were at a low spiritual-intellectual ebb with few Bibles and books and fewer still who could read the Ancient Syriac, the language of worship. The missionaries considered it was this dearth and not theological error that handicapped this people.<sup>2</sup> Justin Perkins (1805-1869), founder and leader of the Mission until his death, carefully analyzed the situation:

"The Nestorians are numerous in the villages, on the plain of Oroomiah, in some cases occupying a village exclusively, and in others, living in the same villages with Muhammedans. Most of them are employed in the cultivation of the soil, of which they are, sometimes, though rarely, the proprietors. A few are mechanics as masons, and joiners. Their common relation to the Muhammedan nobility in the tenure of the soil is that of serfs and lords. The Muhammedan peasantry sustain nominally the same relation to the higher classes though their rights are better respected than those of Christians. The Nestorians often suffer lawless extortion and oppression from their Muhammedan masters. Their circumstances are however, quite tolerable for a people in bondage, and their fertile country yields such an overflowing abundance...."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lake Urumia or Oroomiah is 80 miles long and 30 miles wide. The key city in the plain is today called Rezaieh. Perkins estimated there were 30-40,000 Nestorians in the plains and 100,000 in the mountains, but a closer tabulation would probably be 25,000 and 50,000. Once the largest and most favored Christian group in the Near East, they bore various titles, e.g. Nestorian, Assyrian, Syrian, Chaldean, Aramaeans, etc. The Nestorian Church separated from Rome after the Council of Chalcedon (451) and experienced a golden era from the 4th to 13th centuries. Its 25 flourishing colleges produced the most learned doctors, scholars, authors, teachers, preachers and missionaries of the age. Its churches and missions spread from China to Palestine. The Nestorian Tablet in China and reports of 200,000 converts in Central Asia reveal at least limited success. The Mongol invasions had a shattering effect upon them as millions of Christians were massacred. One estimate claims that 9 million Christians in Iran and Mesopotamia died. The Nestorian Church never recovered from this and by early 19th century numbered under 125,000 members.

<sup>2</sup> Rome's charge of Nestorian heresy regarding "Christ's nature" seemed unjust in that they held to the Nicene Creed, used it in worship in their excellent liturgy. Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Justin Perkins, A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians (Andover, 1843), p. 9. Also cf. his work, Missionary Life in Persia (Boston, 1861) and Life of Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D. by H.M. Perkins (Chicago, 1887).



Perkins' instructions from the Committee had been very explicit. Learning the language, he was to get first-hand knowledge and establish cordial relationships, the purpose of which could not be misconstrued:

"A primary object which you will have in view will be to convince the people, that you come among them with no design to take away their religious privileges, nor to subject them to any foreign ecclesiastical power....But your main object will be, to enable the Nestorian church through the grace of God to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia. ...The mission of the English Church Missionary Society among the Syrian Christians of Malabar will be, in some respects; a model for your own. Our object is the same with theirs, and the people are supposed not to be essentially different....It is proper to caution you to beware, in your personal intercourse with the people, of whatever may be construed as having a political bearing....

"With respect to the Muhammedans, and the adherents of the Papal Church, you will do them good as you have opportunity...nor is it probable that you can make much impression upon Mussulman, until they see more of the fruits of the gospel among its professed believers among them....Concentrated effort is effective effort."<sup>1</sup>

Accompanied by Mar Yohannan, Nestorian Patriarch, on his visit to the United States (1841-43), Perkins could report the establishment of cordial church to church relations and a Mission aimed at restoring the Nestorian Church to its former role of a "witness" to the surrounding peoples. In eight years, the four mission families had developed a seminary of fifty pupils, a girls' school, a printing establishment, a school for young Muslims, and a medical dispensary. A survey trip by J. L. Merrick to Teheran, Isfahan and Shiraz to determine whether it was expedient to preach and work with Muslims there gave a negative reply and so the work concentrated at Urumia in the hope that Muslims could be reached "via the Nestorians". The missionaries were soon endeared to the Muslims there and by request Dr. A. Grant began the school for Muslim youth so as not to give the

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<sup>1</sup>The Instructions given by Anderson are quoted in Perkins, Eight Years, pp. 27-32. This is in line with Smith's report that a missionary among the Nestorians would feel "he has found a prop upon which to rest the lever that will overturn the whole system of Mohammedan delusion; that he is lighting a fire which will shine upon the corruption of the Persian on the one side, and upon the barbarities of the Kurd on the other, until all shall come to be enlightened by its brightness; and the triumph of faith will crown his labor of love." Quoted in R. E. Speer and R. Carter, Report on India and Persia (New York, 1922), pp. 383f.



impression they were benefactors of Nestorians alone.

Literature, preaching and education became the primary means for encouraging the Nestorians. Scholarly Perkins translated the New Testament (1846), a Nestorian Hymnbook and the Old Testament into the modern spoken Syriac and David Stoddard constructed the first Grammar of that tongue.<sup>1</sup> The Press under Edward Breath published 110,000 volumes of Bibles, portions, Christian novels and tracts from 1839 to 1873. Evangelical preaching became a feature of Nestorian life. Perkins wrote:

"But the most interesting department of our labors, is our preaching the gospel in the Nestorian Churches, as already noticed....Some of the native clergy, who had been a considerable time under the influence of the mission are becoming themselves very able and faithful preachers of the gospel. Often have I heard them address their people, with a solemnity and power, which we associate with the preaching of the apostles."<sup>2</sup>

The schools became the key to the revivals that spread from students to parents and villages. By 1837, three bishops and four priests were helping in the seminaries (boarding schools) and soon sending a stream of evangelical teachers and ministers into the life of the community. Stoddard and Miss Fidelia Fiske were the superintendents of the two seminaries and by their example and encouragement largely responsible for the evangelical revivals which led most students to be "born again".<sup>3</sup> Already in 1841, Perkins attested:

"...Our education efforts hold out the cheering prospect, in connexion with our other labors, of furnishing the Nestorians with an intelligent and

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Stoddard's "A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 5 (1853) became the base for Theodor Noeldeke's Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprach (Leipsic, 1868) and A. M. MacLean's Grammar of the Dialects of the Vernacular Syriac (Cambridge, 1895) and Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac (Oxford, 1900).

<sup>2</sup>Perkins, Eight Years, pp. 497ff.

<sup>3</sup>By 1867-1877 there were 58 village schools with 1,023 pupils under evangelical teachers in addition to the seminaries. Also cf. Wm. M. Miller, How the Revivals Came to Persia (New York, 1933); D. F. Fiske, The Cross and the Crown, or Faith working by Love as exemplified in the Life of Fidelia Fiske (Boston, 1868); David T. Stoddard, Narrative of the Revival of Religion among the Nestorians of Persia (Boston, 1848); and Joseph P. Thompson, Memoir of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians (New York, 1858).

pious ministry; and with their aid, of gradually raising the whole mass to an intelligent and virtuous people."<sup>1</sup>

Medical work began in 1835 with the arrival of Asahel Grant (1807-1844). While Rev. Austin Wright, M.D. developed the plains dispensary (1840-1864), Grant began work among the scattered Nestorians, Kurds and Yezidis in the mountains. Trying to remain politically neutral, he was deceived by the situation. Even Perkins wrote:

"...The savage Koords and the wild independent Nestorians are in little danger of injury, by being made to yield to the influence of a regular Muhammedan government [Ottoman Turkey]; especially a Muhammedan government, which is now rapidly passing through a series of mutations, that in their process will shake to pieces the whole existing fabric and distribute the fragments among civilized, christian nations."<sup>2</sup>

But the presence of missionaries heightened the ancient Kurdish suspicions of the Mountain Nestorians who maintained a precarious independence under their patriarch. Turkish authorities, afraid of losing their minimal control, used the Kurdish fear and desire for booty in a program of liquidation and subjection. In 1843, some 800 Nestorians including part of the patriarchal family were killed and by 1845, one-fifth of their number (10,000) had died. After this the only successful work among the Mountain Nestorians was by the Plains Nestorians.<sup>3</sup>

The extent of the Mission's success is seen in the dozen revivals between 1846 and 1863. These revivals started with the students and spread through Urumia and to outlying villages via teachers, evangelists, priests and bishops, e.g.

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<sup>1</sup>Perkins, Eight Years, pp. 496f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 502.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Asahel Grant, The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes (New York, 1845); Thomas Laurie, Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians (Boston, 1853); Dwight W. Marsh, The Tennessean in Persia and Koordistan. Being the Scenes and Incidents in the Life of Samuel Audley Rhea (Philadelphia, 1869) and Mary Jewett, Twenty-Five Years in Persia (Chicago, 1898). The mission program of Nestorian evangelists in the Mountains was supervised by William Shedd and resulted in 16 congregations by 1863. Cf. Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 285 and Wm. A. Shedd, Islam and the Oriental Churches, their Historical Relations (New York, 1908).

Bishop Elias (d. 1863) and the Patriarch's brother, Deacon Isaac (d. 1864). With the conviction of sin came a new awareness of Christ's power to save, a joy of forgiveness, a hunger for the Word and a willingness to serve. The important fact was that this all took place within the traditional structure of the Nestorian Church. Perhaps it would have continued this way had it not been for interference by Roman Catholics, High-Church Anglicans and the State Church of Russia. The Lazarists backed by France became more aggressive (1842-49) and urged the Nestorian Patriarch to throw out the Americans. While unsuccessful, they did alienate a good number of Nestorians.<sup>1</sup> Political pressures increased also. Russia and England prodded the Shah to appoint, Dawood Khan of Tabriz, an Armenian from Georgia, to act as Governor of the Nestorians and as their protector from Muslim nobles and Kurds. About 1843, the S.P.G. sent George P. Badger with letters from Anglican dignitaries to the Patriarch. Ignoring the American workers, he urged the Patriarch to turn from the "American dissenters" to the "episcopal" and "catholic" S.P.G. which could also provide schools. Although the venture failed, it further damaged relationships.<sup>2</sup> Evangelical Nestorians torn in many directions were beginning to feel need of the strength and discipline of "congregations". A second factor was the Sacrament of Communion. As long as the Lord's Supper was celebrated by the mission circle alone, the issue did not arise. But as some priests reacted to the evangelical movement, the agonizing question of whether to form separate Evangelical Nestorian "communions" arose:

"Can the 'evangelicals' further unite in the morning and evening services conducted by priests...reviving these superstitions. Almost the whole church are surprisingly united in the decision to withdraw."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 318ff. and Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 56.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 212f. and Shaw, American Contacts, pp. 94ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 317.



Although the first Protestant Congregation (158 communicants) formed in 1855 and an Annual Convention of congregations elected Mar Yohanan as Moderator in 1867, the separation was gradual and with a minimum of estrangement. Only by 1870, did the Assyrian Evangelical Church stand ecclesiastically independent.<sup>1</sup> That year was a pivotal point for both Mission and Church. The Mission was transferred to the Presbyterian Board. The staff decided to rename it, the "Mission to Persia" and to expand its objectives to the Armenians of Tabriz and Hamadan and Muslims throughout Persia.<sup>2</sup>

#### At Work in Syria-Lebanon, 1823-1870

Application of American Board policy in Syria-Lebanon (1823-1870) took a different form. It was soon concluded that the goal and means of "mission" in Syria's diverse society must be "an Independent Evangelical Church". Because of the multiplicity of Christian and Muslim sects in the area, and their fierce suspicion of one another or foreigners, it was decided that those who responded to the evangelical presentation of the Christian Scriptures and Faith should be gathered into a new community/church. In addition to the fact of pluralism, there was also greater freedom, at least in Beirut, due perhaps to the distance from Constantinople, the fierce independence of the mountain peoples, the longer contact with Europe, lingering shadows of the Latin States, etc. Syria, the first home of Gentile Christianity, still contained the most viable if varied Christianity in the Near East.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Elder, Mission to Iran, pp. 21ff.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches II, 320ff and Presbyterians in Persia, below.

<sup>3</sup>About one-fifth of Syria's population was Christian (Greek, Jacobite, Armenian, Maronite and Latin). By sheer determination and protective terrain they had resisted Muslim rule. Roman Catholic contacts continued after the Crusades through the Maronite College at Rome (founded by Pope Gregory XIII, 1584), the Capuchins (1627), Carmelites (1650), Lazarites (1784), the Oriental Seminary at Ghazir (1846) and Beirut (1874, later named St. Joseph University). Muslim

Politics, Protestants and Missions to Muslims

Early politics made direct work with Muslims extremely difficult. Due to the Greek War of Independence and battle for Beirut, the missionaries had to retreat to Malta (1828-1830). The arrival of Mohammed Ali's army (1831), the return of the region to Turkey by Britain, (1840) plus the bloody civil wars (Maronites and Druses) in 1841-42, 1845, and 1860 kept the tension high. While it was hoped to reach Muslims "via Eastern Christians", there was only a limited evangelism among the Druzes (1835-1842). Although hostile to their hereditary enemies, the Maronites, the Druzes responded favorably to Protestant missionaries. Several of their leaders early attended Arabic services, mission school, etc. and so when they requested "instruction", they knew what it meant. While the motives of some were mixed (perhaps the hope to gain exemption from Ottoman military services), there was definite spiritual-social ferment. But ultra-cautious about conversion en masse, the missionaries hesitated! The Turkish Army's hasty subjection of the Druze Sheikhs and the oath that the latter would never become Christian dampened this opportunity. While the Protestant and Druze continued to be fast friends, such a chance did not reoccur within the century.<sup>1</sup>

Several good results came from these stirrings. The Missionary Convention in Beirut (1844) concluded that all peoples in Syria, Christian and Muslim alike were to be considered Arabs and the object of missionary work. They also resolved that Congregations should be formed as soon as a small company professed faith no

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sects such as the Druze tribes (linked to Fatmid Caliphs of Egypt) and the Nusairis (mixture of Christian-pagan-Shi'ite beliefs) also tried to maintain their autonomy from Ottoman-Turkish overlords. Cf. Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 41ff; Richter, Missions in the Near East, pp. 181ff; James S. Dennis, A Sketch of the Syrian Mission (New York, 1872); P. Hitti, The Origins of the Druze People and Religion (New York, 1928); and A. H. Hourani, Minorities in the Arab World (London, 1947) and Syria and Lebanon: A Political Essay (London, 1946).

<sup>1</sup>Anderson, The Oriental Churches, I, 236ff, 254ff.

matter how varied their background might be and that they should be led by a native ministry.<sup>1</sup>

### Ecclesiastical Resistance and Missionary Persistence

Almost from the beginning Protestant missions in the Levant were resisted. Intense Roman Catholic opposition was seen in the unsuccessful papal attempt (1824) to get Turkish authorities to bann Protestant distribution of the Scriptures. The best documented case of persecution of native evangelicals is that of Asaad Shidiak (1797-1839), a well educated Maronite teacher and theologian under evangelical persuasion, who was spirited away, imprisoned in a dungeon till death by the Maronite hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> Roman Catholic and Orthodox hostility continued long after the formation of the Protestant Church.

In addition to the labors of Isaac Bird, Pliny Fisk, and William Goodell, Jonas King made a brief (1822-25) but lasting impression on Syria. His "Farewell Letter to his Friends in Palestine and Syria" was an apology of the Evangelical Faith. Following its criticism of the Roman Catholic Church and implied suggestions for Eastern Churches, it set forth the tenets of Protestantism.<sup>3</sup> The men making the deepest and longest impact in Syria included Eli Smith (1801-1856), Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck (1818-1895), Daniel Bliss (1823-1916), Henry H. Jessup (1832-1910), Simeon H. Calhoun (1804-1876), and Wm. Thomson (1806-1894).

Literary-evangelism, education, women's work and medical missions all played a part. Shifting the Arabic Press from Malta to Beirut (1834), the Mission published seven million pages of tracts and books within fourteen years. A system of colportage spread this from Aleppo to Jerusalem. The greatest feat was the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 261ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ibid., I, 52-72; and Isaac Bird, The Martyr of Lebanon (Boston, 1864).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. F. E. H. Haines, Jonas King, Missionary to Syria and Greece (New York, 1879) and Jessup, Fifty-Five Years in Syria, I, 38ff.



translation of the Bible into Arabic. Smith worked eight years on this task and Van Dyck added nine more years before the standard edition of the Bible for Arab peoples was completed (1864). Van Dyck also prepared a New Testament in the style of the Quran especially for Muslims. The first mission schools centered about Beirut drawing some 600 pupils. A landmark in Near Eastern history was the opening of the first Girls' School in Beirut about 1834. Mrs. Smith, Dr. and Mrs. DeForest, and Miss Temple set a pace in "female education" to be followed by Greeks, Maronites, Jews and Muslims alike.<sup>1</sup> As Evangelical congregations formed, elementary schools were generally attached. High Schools opened in key centers, e.g. Abeih Seminary (1850) which enrolled four Druzes, four Maronites, nine Orthodox and two Protestants. These shared one common table, study and prayer life and it was soon evident that new ideas of Christianity and democracy were being implanted. While the first ministers were instructed privately or in a "theological class" at Abeih, e.g. John Wortabet (1853) and Suleeba Jerwan (1864), a Theological Seminary was formed there in 1869 under Henry Jessup, W. W. Eddy and S. H. Calhoun (This institution shifted to Beirut in 1873.). Early medical work, without benefit of dispensary or hospital, was mainly a field-service. During the tragic civil wars, this channel gained greater attention and funds. With the establishment of the Medical School at Syrian Protestant College, it drew still more respect.

Several missionaries became concerned about providing a Christian institution of higher education to meet the needs of Protestants and others in the international port of Beirut. The concept of the "Syrian Protestant College" was proposed by the Mission in 1861. Since the "Edict of Anderson" had virtually barred the door to such, it was decided that independent Christian action was

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. H. Jessup, The Women of the Arabs (London, 1874).

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 387.

needed.<sup>1</sup> The college was to offer a liberal arts course including languages, literature, mathematics, natural science, law, medicine as well as moral science and Biblical studies. Incorporated and endowed in America, the local Board of Directors was to be composed of American and British missionaries and residents in the Beirut area. Christian purpose was at the heart of the proposal:

"The objects deemed essential, were to enable natives to obtain in their own country, in their own language, and at a moderate cost, a thorough literary, scientific, and professional education; to found an institution, which should be conducted on principles strictly evangelical, but not sectarian; with doors open to youth of every Oriental sect and nationality, who would conform to its regulations, but so ordered that students, while elevated intellectually and spiritually, should not materially change their native customs. The hope was entertained that much of the instruction might at once be entrusted to pious and competent natives and that ultimately the teaching could be left in the hands of those who had been raised up by the college itself."<sup>2</sup>

Under Daniel Bliss, the College's first President (1866-1902), educational and evangelical (if not evangelistic) goals were seen as co-ordinates. All students attended morning and evening prayers, daily Bible lectures, and Sunday services. But under the presidency of his son, Howard S. Bliss (1902-1920) and Bayard Dodge, the college moved towards religious neutrality.

#### Formation of the Syrian Evangelical Churches, 1848-1870

After the intense opposition by Maronite, Greek and Armenian clergy, the mission staff were barely prepared for the "breakthrough". An awakening among Greek Orthodox Christians began at Hasbeiya (fifty miles from Beirut) in 1845. One hundred and fifty men and women seceded from the Church and declared themselves to be Evangelicals. Persecutions by Greek authorities and a brutal attack

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<sup>1</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, I, 299f; Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 387ff; Frederick J. Bliss, The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss (New York, 1920), pp. 162ff; and S. B. L. Penrose, That They May Have Life: the Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941 (New York, 1941), pp. 8ff.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 387.

by Turkish forces delayed their actual organization and selection of a pastor for seven years.<sup>1</sup> Soon "reform parties" at Aintab and Aleppo were sending letters and delegations to Beirut pleading for missionaries and teachers. The Mission, short on personnel, sent an urgent request to the United States (1847), but the response was unequal to the opportunity.<sup>2</sup> Ottoman recognition of Protestants (1847, 1850, 1853) nevertheless did fortify the right of Evangelicals to organize and assemble for worship.

The first purely "Arab" Protestant Church formed at Beirut (1848). Its membership of twenty-seven testified to the "reconciliation" wrought by Christ.<sup>3</sup> Evangelical circles emerged at many points in Syria and requests for teachers, schools, Bibles and assistance in forming churches sent the missionaries fanning out across the countryside. After 1848, congregations began at Abeih, Hasbeiya, Sidon, Suk el Gharb, Bhamdun, Zahleh, Aleppo, Aintab, and a dozen other places. Friendly relations with Armenian and Jacobite clergy were cultivated, but Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox leaders opposed Evangelical efforts all the way. During the "contest" in Aleppo, Muslim Arab raiders swept in to rob, wound and kill the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic aristocracy of the town. In the caldron of suffering, many Evangelical and Orthodox Christians recovered the fellowship that transcends denomination.<sup>4</sup> This healing and stablization of relationships was a necessary preliminary to any witness to their Muslim neighbors. The practice of self-support developed <sup>more</sup> slowly than the other statistics of church life. The ravages of war and American generosity undoubtedly contributed to this.<sup>5</sup> In spite of all, it was later recognized that the formation of Protestant congregations was

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 264ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 362ff, II, 355ff.

<sup>3</sup>Charter membership included three former Druzes, ten former Greek Orthodox, plus representatives of four other traditions.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 368f.

<sup>5</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, I, 243, 346.



the key to the strength of the work of the American Board and their successors, the Presbyterians. For while ventures by the English, Scottish and Germans gained converts they could refer them to no sustaining body. Fortunately many of these united with the Evangelical Congregations. A Report at the time of transfer (1870) noted that Islam had not been forgotten.

"...The relative positions of the crescent and the cross are not what they were when the missionaries came to Syria. The Bible has gained ground, and the Koran has lost it, as a controlling influence in the land. Some Mohammedans are among the attendants upon our preaching and these would doubtless be more numerous, but for the risk to property and life, which inquirers from among them incur.

"Not without results have the children of the Druzes been taught in our schools during all these years, and so many conversations been held with adults of that sect. The leaven of the Gospel has penetrated even to the secret inner sanctuaries of their religion; and the white turbans of the initiated Druzes seen in our Sabbath congregations, the inquirers who come to our houses, and the baptized converts from among them, show that not in vain to the Druzes has the light of the Gospel again dawned upon Syria.

"But principally among the nominally Christian sects have the indirect results of the missionary labor extended...."<sup>1</sup>

The forth-rightness of the American Board program in Syria-Lebanon was outstanding for this period.<sup>2</sup>

#### Limited Work Directly With Muslims and an Evaluation of the American Board Program

In a sense all the Near Eastern activity of the American Board was in the midst of Islam. Its declared objective was to stimulate Eastern Christians to join in the evangelization of Muslims. Yet in many ways, this was a delaying action, a waiting for a more opportune hour. In reality it did not always breed

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 396.

<sup>2</sup>By contrast American Board ventures in Mesopotamia (Iraq) were spasmodic. At Mosul (1841-44, 1849- ) the only results were a small Congregation and schools. In this inhospitable climate and population only medical work by David Nutting, Henry Lobdell, and Henri Haskell began to alter public opinion. C. H. Wheeler, Ten Years on the Euphrates or Primitive Missionary Policy Illustrated (Boston, 1868); It would be well into the twentieth century before Evangelical Christianity would take root in Iraq.

the spirit of mission to Muslims in Evangelical Congregations. They could always ask "Do you want us as residents to do what you as missionaries will not attempt?" Courageous missionaries periodically attempted to break through this barrier. This may be considered under three periods.

From 1820-1856, political circumstances made Muslim work practically suicidal. Missionaries turned thus to the other "obstacle", the Eastern Churches, and sought to restore them to earlier purity and apostolic fervor. Brave souls, like James L. Merrick, William G. Schauffler, and William Hutchinson, who tackled purely Muslim work soon became frustrated and exhausted. While converts from the Druzes offered a glimmer of hope, the hasty squelching of this apparent movement towards Christianity and the bloody application of the death penalty for apostasy elsewhere curtailed all chances of success.<sup>1</sup>

From 1856-1866, the Imperial Decrees assuring Christians and others of their civil and religious rights ushered in a brief era of religious liberty. Some Muslims took the Hatti Humayun at face value and openly inquired into the Christian Faith. The American Board and C.M.S. intensified their Muslim work. Muslims actually became Christians and were permitted to live on! Hamlin described the remarkable visit of government authorities to a Muslim family recently baptized. After ascertaining their "freedom of choice", they were left unmolested. Many Muslims purchased the Bible and others gained instruction. By late 1860 over a score of Muslim converts had been baptized including an Imam, Abdi Effendi, who immediately became a fervent evangelist. Between 1857 and 1877, at least fifty baptisms took place and many leading Muslims intimated interest. George Herrick of the Turkish Department at Bebek Seminary wrote (1869):

"Quite a number of Mohammedans have renounced Islam and become true Christians; many more are soberly inquiring after the truth; and many others are turning unsatisfied, from a religion which cannot save, or wavering in a merely nominal devotion to Islamism. That which is most striking is the

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, I, 173f, 367, II, 482f, 497 and Richter, Missions in the Near East, pp. 171ff.

clear evidence, often of the work of God's Spirit in individual cases, and in general movements."<sup>1</sup>

These experiences were most revealing! First, Mission work among Muslims can be successfully carried out and converts won, when the social-political setting permits equality between Christians and Muslims and the religious freedom to transfer from one religious community to another. Second, Muslim work is such an all-engrossing work that if it is to be effective, it must be carried on by those totally dedicated to it. Those having other duties (e.g. among Eastern Christians) were too often diverted. Third, Muslims were best won by converts from Islam. These were more effective than either American or Armenian evangelists in gaining and sustaining the interest of inquirers. Yet in fact, the American Board did not concentrate on training its own missionaries in Islamics nor on procuring evangelists of Muslim background. As will be seen, a storm of hostility (1864-66) wiped out this bold effort. The reassertion of Turkish power (after the Crimean War), the indecisive wavering of English and European powers, and the aggressiveness of C.M.S. workers in Constantinople brought violence to the Muslim converts of the city and extinguished prospects of an immediate direct approach to Muslims in Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

From 1866-1910, missionaries were ultra-cautious. The seizure of Bible depots, imprisonment and persecution of converts, and threat to banish missionaries put all Missions, especially the American Board on the defensive. The massacres of Maronites, Armenians, and Assyrians strengthened this attitude. Neither missionary nor national wished to court martyrdom. There was thus little interest in re-opening direct Muslim work until the revolt of the Young Turks (1908) and even then the situation remained delicate. Under the Republic of Turkey, "non-proselytism" became a test applied to recognized foreign organizations

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, Oriental Churches, II, 479f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ibid., II, 483ff, and "Anglicans in Constantinople" below.



working within the land. Thus the American Board consoled itself with educational and medical work among Muslims and with a supportive role to the Evangelical Churches. While the question of the need for "Muslim work" was raised in 1910 by enterprising individuals, the will to pursue it appeared lacking.<sup>1</sup> This may have been due as much to the change in the theological climate of New England Congregationalism as to the actual circumstances in Turkey.

It is regretable that the views of George Herrick did not receive fuller application. Herrick held that a lofty concept of Revelation was essential for those seeking to make an impact on Islam:

"Any missionary who holds the positions or makes the assumptions of the advanced German school, which treats all religions as evolutions out of man's religious nature, ruling out any supernatural element in the origin of the religion of Israel, or doubts the personal existence of Moses or of Abraham would find his position untenable among Mohammedans....a missionary to Mohammedans must hold to a Bible which, in a true and defensible sense, contains a revelation from God....The missionary's great message is, indeed to proclaim Christ Himself, but he must trust to that Book whose very purpose --testify of Christ, to hold that wonderful Person before Mussulman eyes.

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<sup>1</sup>George Herrick was one of the few who concentrated in this area. Cf. Christian and Mohammedan: A Plea for Bridging the Chasm (New York, 1912). Herrick, after serving fifty years in the Near East offers stinging criticism of the British government's policy (as illustrated by Lord Cromer) condoning injustices in Near Eastern lands simply because they hid under religious cloaks. This so-called "tolerance" at the sacrifice of Christian conviction and ethics may have been profitable for British interests but it failed to reform the lands concerned, lost the respect of these peoples, and created a climate detrimental to Christian Mission, (pp. 73ff, 229ff.) Rejecting the rational-controversial approach, Herrick develops what may be called a "service-ethical" approach. Muslims are to be approached with the "fruits of Christianity" that are welcomed (e.g. education, bible and literature, scientific healing and relief during calamity). While acknowledging that J. Christy Wilson, Samuel Zwemer and D. M. Thornton place the emphasis on God's Revelation in Christ as a "Word" to be proclaimed, Herrick develops a slightly variant approach. Christianity is preferred over Islam because of the "consequences" for man. Its superior "Ethics" are demonstratable by a "comparison" of the two systems (documented in their source books: N.T. and Quran), of the Founders (Jesus and Mohammed) and of recent historical events. He hopes that a reform wing of Islam (by "historical research") will come to Christ. It is the approach of the "Christlike life", the Christian ethic that will win men to Christ. Herrick was heavy on the humanitarian emphasis of education, service, and philanthropy (pp. 220-245). But his view was balanced by stress on the Bible as Revelation (205ff), the motive of Love (215) and the Missionary as Herald (247f). In a sense, Herrick represents a "mediating theology".

Theological discussion will be barren of good results. But a loving and confident presentation of Christ Himself just as the Gospels reveal Him to us is ever effective beyond all argument."<sup>1</sup>

Herrick contended that it was not "evangelization in this generation" but a "Christianization" over many generations that would reach Muslims.

"The leading and controlling purpose of missionary endeavour in our day is not, as it was in the inception of foreign missions a century ago, to snatch a soul here and there as a brand from the burning. It is the enlightenment, and education, the uplifting of entire races of men, of all races of men, by the power of Christian civilization, of Christian education, by the persistent use of all the forces and accessories of Christian philanthropy. The impetus and motive is found in our Lord's summing up the second table of the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."<sup>2</sup>

Herrick tries to hold in balance the emphasis of service-ethics and the emphasis on revelation-proclamation which were soon to clash so violently in the Crisis in Theology and Mission. The missionary is ever the Herald:

"The duty is twofold. The missionary places in the hands of the people to whom he goes God's written message to mankind in their own vernacular, and he proclaims that message, viva voce, all his life long....He is a prophet in the true meaning of the word. He is God's messenger: he is Christ's apostle. The very heart and core of his mission is here. It is this and this alone which constitutes the uniqueness of the service he is called to render ....he goes...at the call of Him who bade His disciples preach His Gospel everywhere, teach men what He has taught them, make men His disciples, and that till all men shall know and follow Him....But first and last and all time...the missionary is God's herald of hope, of paternal love."<sup>3</sup>

He envisaged the time when the adherents of Islam would at least in part acknowledge the Lordship of Christ:

"And then, not in a receding or distant, but in an approaching and near future, there will come...acceptance by Mussulman peoples of Jesus Christ as their Redeemer and Reconciler with God.

"The chasm between Christian and Mussulman will be closed when devotees of Islam shall discard the name Mohammedan, but retain the excellent name Muslim, and when their muezzins shall, in the call to worship, couple with that of the one God the name and office of the one Saviour of men: and in life shall be conformed to the teachings and the example of Jesus the Christ. May God hasten the day."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 205f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 247f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 220f. Also of interest: J. L. Barton, The Christian Approach to Islam (Boston, 1918).

Herrick represents perhaps the best of American Board thought and action regarding Muslims. *position for the evangelisation of Muslims than ever before.*

How successful was the program of the American Board? A judgement depends almost entirely on what place is given to the Eastern Churches. If one holds that reformation of the Eastern Churches was a prerequisite to Muslim evangelization in the Near East, then they were reasonably successful. For in spite of political restriction, ecclesiastical opposition, and interference by foreign powers, they accomplished amazing things. Churches, Evangelical and Orthodox, were reformed and given a new vitality. The Eastern Churches became a viable force once more in their environment.<sup>1</sup> Not only did they become a more acceptable witness but they became the stimulant of a renaissance of Near Eastern peoples, a leading cause in the elevation of the whole intellectual, social and spiritual life of the Near East.<sup>2</sup> This achievement was marred only by the failure to create within either young Evangelical Churches or older Orthodox Churches a missionary zeal for Muslims. Exceptions were the Harpoot missionaries and the Urumia evangelists among the Kurds and Syrian Protestants among the Druzes. In charity, perhaps one must say, circumstances did not permit such visible zeal among either overseas or national workers. The work of the American Board may best be described as a first step, a preparatory work among Muslims. By word and deed it demonstrated the meaning of Christian love, learning, and service. In fresh form, it was manifesting the vitality inherent in the faith and life dedicated to God in Christ. The second step may yet appear with a realization of religious liberty. As the Christian community and its leaders in the Near East concentrate on their theology and mission

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<sup>1</sup>Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 62ff; Barton, Daybreak in Turkey (1908), p. 237; and Prime, Goodell, p. v.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. F. J. Bliss, The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine (New York, 1912), pp. 313-335 and George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (London, 1939).



anew, there appear signs of promise.<sup>1</sup> Near Eastern Churches today hold a more strategic position for the evangelization of Muslims than ever before.

#### AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS: DEVELOPMENT OF A TWO-PRONGED APPROACH

In 1870, the "Old School" and "New School" Presbyterians in America reunited to form the Northern Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).<sup>1</sup> Personnel and finances were to be withdrawn from the American Board, that Board wisely and graciously transferred her responsibilities in Syria, Persia and later Iraq (1892) to the new body and concentrated upon Turkey. The Northern Presbyterian Church was able to mount a considerable mission operation. Its approach in the Near East may be called, "Two-Pronged". It retained the "Via the Moslems Churches" approach inherited from the American Board, but also gave increased attention to direct evangelization of Muslims, especially in Persia. It will be noted that the separate work of the United Presbyterian Church in Egypt applied a similar approach.

#### Northern Presbyterians in Syria-Lebanon, 1870-1910

##### Historical Development in the Syrian Mission

In the first two decades after the transfer (1870-1890), the Syrian Mission still faced political bars to Muslim work.<sup>1</sup> The Mission benefited from long terms of service by such able figures as H. A. Jessup, Daniel White (both celebrating their jubilee as missionaries in 1906), etc., but conditions were by no means favorable. The massacres of 1860 had been followed by French-British im-

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<sup>1</sup>For recent examples cf. Hagop A. Chakmakjian, Armenian Christology and Evangelization of Islam. A Survey of the Relevance of the Christology of the Armenian Apostolic Church to Armenian Relations with its Muslim Environment (Leiden, 1965) and John Joseph, The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors. A Study of Western Influence on their Relations (Princeton, 1961)

...the independent Syrian Protestant College. Later stations at Hama (1873), Haleb (1874) and Latakia (formerly Saida) united as "Lebanon Station". Cf. Richter, Mission in the M.E., p. 212.

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<sup>1</sup>At the time of the transfer there were four stations, 9 men and 9 women missionaries, Syrian workers included 1 pastor, 11 catechists and 34 teachers. There were 8 churches, 245 communicants, 31 schools with 1,184 pupils, 1 theological seminary at Abeih, 1 seminary for girls (Beirut), 1 press and the independent Syrian Protestant College. Later stations at Abeih (1873), Zahleh (1872) and Schuweir (formerly Scottish) united as "Lebanon Station". Cf. Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 212.

increasingly stringent regarding Christian activity. The Muslim majority often harassed the minorities at will. Illiteracy, lack of Christian and educational literature, the tyranny and jealousies of the Orthodox ecclesiastics, the intrigues of papal emissaries plus cholera epidemics further complicated matters. Some Protestant missionaries in the 1870s hoped that Britain would help bring about reforms in the corrupt tax system, curb the wild Bedawin and Kurd tribes, and stimulate religious and literary freedom, but H. H. Jessup and others soon admitted that few benefits would accrue from the influence of Western governments.<sup>1</sup> Direct Muslim work was still blocked. When the Nusairiyeh, a Muslim sect, began to convert as result of American Reformed Presbyterian Mission schools, Turkey closed the schools (1874). When M. Arnold formed a Muslim Missionary Society (1861) to work with the Arab Bedawin tribes, it was halted by the Turks. C.M.S. schools for the Druzes near Damascus were likewise closed (1885). The Syrian Mission frequently found its schools and churches sealed, construction delayed, and application pigeonholed. About 1888, some seventy-one missionaries and teachers of Protestant bodies petitioned the Turkish government via foreign ambassadors to suspend this official persecution. This produced a brief respite, but the Turkish system was so honeycombed by graft and espionage that reform by enlightened officials seemed virtually impossible.<sup>2</sup>

From 1890 to 1900, the Syrian Mission made limited advance in spite of hardships. Various attempts to reach the Muslim Bedawin Arabs of Northern Arabia were frustrated. Yet two outstanding Muslim converts, Jedaan Owad (bapt. Feb. 21, 1889) and Kamil Aietany (bapt. Jan. 1890) received training at Suk el Gharb and returned to proclaim Christ among the Arab tribes near Hums and Hamath. Kamil,

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<sup>1</sup>H. H. Jessup, The Mohammedan Missionary Problem (Philadelphia, 1879), pp. 107-138.

<sup>2</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 436, 503ff and Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 210.



became a full-fledged apostle to the Muslims. With Cantine and Zwemer, he explored southern Arabia, the Gulf and pioneered at Basrah before his "early" death.<sup>1</sup> These were by no means the only converts. H. H. Jessup in his fifty-five years in Syria personally baptized some thirty Muslim converts and was acquainted with nearly fifty. In his later years, he baptized about two per year. Many of these had to flee the country for their own safety and others had to resist all types of persecution and temptations to revert to Islam.<sup>2</sup> Three other factors affected this decade. First, the overflow of Armenian refugees (resulting from the massacres) and Turkish hostilities towards missionaries put strain upon the Syrian Mission. Second, the reduction in the Presbyterian Syrian budget (1897) forced missionaries to curtail their gratis work and painfully advance "self-support" in the Evangelical churches. Third, emigrations (1896-1897) sent not less than 75,000 Syrian Christians to Egypt, Australia, and the Americas to seek security and employment. Although many of these were Protestants, the local Churches held their own.<sup>3</sup>

From 1900 to 1910, growth in the Syrian Mission and its churches continued. The energies, evangelical aims and deputations of Presbyterian Board Secretary A. J. Brown gave new impetus to the work. Political changes filled all with cautious hope. After the revolt of the Young Turks (1908), new freedoms of press, speech and education were gained. Experienced leaders like Jessup however observed the sullen mood of mullahs and sheikhs and anticipated a struggle between Pan-Islamism and this new republicanism. Three small Missionary Conferences in Brummana, Lebanon (1898, 1901, 1904) not only provided opportunity for prayer, devotion and fellowship but a foundation for the maturer ecumenical approach to Muslims which would soon appear (1906-1911).

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<sup>1</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 541, 555-59. Also cf. H. H. Jessup, Kamil Abdul Messiah, a Syrian Convert from Islam to Christianity (Philadelphia, 1898).

<sup>2</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 565, 617.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ibid., II, 606-633, 519, 813, 641.

## The Quest for Means

Since public preaching was not permitted in Syria, the Mission continued to develop its literary evangelism. In spite of the "Imperial Press and School Laws" (1869) and censorship, the Press continued to be a disseminator of Christian truth. The Beirut Press became the center of Arabic work throughout the world, producing some fifty editions of the Smith-Van Dyck Arabic Bible by 1910, a weekly Arabic paper (Neshrah, The Herald, 1865-), a popular four volume New Testament commentary (W.D. Eddy), plus many educational and devotional materials. Because Arabic was the language of Muslim and Christian, this was truly a two-pronged endeavor.<sup>1</sup>

In 1898, Secretary Brown mildly rebuked missionaries for clinging to literary and educational centers and urged more itinerant work as done by Samuel Jessup. Henry Jessup had a ready reply:

"...The real evangelistic work of the future is to be done by native evangelists and these can only be fitted for their work by large and systematic Bible study....Dr. Eddy was giving six hours a day to the preparation of a commentary of the New Testament for which the native preachers and people of Syria have been waiting for years....

"Teaching the Bible is evangelistic work. Translating, editing, and training theological students are only different forms of evangelistic work. And as the missions grow older and one thing after the other is handed over to the natives, the foreign missionaries, with their long experience and more thorough training, will more and more confine themselves to the training of a native ministry and preparing helps for their work....Let us not say 'institutional versus evangelistic work' but, 'the institutional for the sake of the evangelistic work'."<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, Brown had a point. For too few nationals were being trained as evangelists to Muslims and missionaries were not always setting an example in this trying activity.

In education, the Presbyterians in Syria took the lead for the Near East.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., II, 433f, 549, 753 and Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 215.

<sup>2</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 673ff.

Protestants (as did Roman Catholics) built a full system of education reaching from village school to college. Syrian Protestants soon became leaders in many fields, e.g. journalism, medicine, etc. The Protestant system had 100 common schools at its base, advanced secondary schools for girls and boys at five centers, and the Syrian Protestant College at the top of the pyramid. This reached over 8,000 students.<sup>1</sup> Up to 1910, schools were certainly "entering wedges" by which the Bible and evangelical instruction penetrated areas closed to other types of work. Since only one-quarter of the students were Protestant, many Orthodox and Roman Catholic students were also influenced. Turkish regulations prohibited Muslims from attending these schools, yet nearly 100 managed to do so. While Syrians continued to call for Christian schools, both national governments and conservative missionaries began to criticize them after 1910. Eventually all but the advanced institutions were nationalized.<sup>2</sup>

The Mission was rather halting in its program of higher education. A Presbyterian Theological Seminary under James S. Dennis struggled for a few years (1881) only to cease.<sup>3</sup> Secular trades and emigration were drawing away the most talented youth. In actual fact, it appears that the Mission neglected the training of the Syrian Ministry until the formation of the union venture, the Near East School of Theology (1932). Only after this period of "crisis" did church-related colleges like Aleppo College, Beirut College for Women and Hagazian College (actually under the Armenian Evangelical Church) gain adequate attention. What in actuality happened was that the independent "liberal arts" Syrian Protestant

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., II, 508ff and Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 221, 228.

<sup>2</sup>Bethmann, Bridge to Islam, pp. 152f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. writings of James S. Dennis, A Sketch of the Syrian Mission (New York, 1872); Social Evils of the Non-Christian World (London, 1899); and Christian Missions and Social Progress. A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions (Edinburgh, 1905/6).



College siphoned off top mission personnel, attention, and qualified Syrian Youth. While there is no doubt that this institution in its early years permeated the Near East with revolutionary evangelical and democratic ideas, it did not necessarily nurture a Christian ministry or a missionary force willing to reach to Muslims and others. The historical development of this independent "Christian" institution which by 1920 became the near "secular" American University of Beirut deserves separate attention.<sup>1</sup>

Medical work under the Syrian Mission did not gain the proportions it did elsewhere. The Presbyterians maintained a hospital at Tripoli and dispensaries at Hamath and Hums. Presbyterian medical men at the Beirut college cooperated with the German St. John's Hospital as did the Kaiserswerth nurses to make it the largest and finest in the land. Mary P. Eddy was the first woman doctor to gain the Ottoman Empire diploma in medicine (1893). Her itinerating camp work and clinic reached as many Muslims as any single effort. Scottish, Irish, English and American Reformed Presbyterians and Anglicans also carried on medical programs in Syria. National and overseas Christians cooperated in founding the Asfuriyeh Hospital for the Insane (1896) with Rev. John Wortabet, M.D. as president and H. H. Jessup as secretary. The fruit of such Christian public service gave Muslims in the Near East new understanding of Christian life.<sup>2</sup>

What evaluation can be made of this Presbyterian approach in Syria? Simply this, the prong of the program directed towards Muslims was far weaker than the one pointed towards Eastern Christians. If this was true, then the important question is: "What role was the developing Syrian Evangelical Church to play in the evangelization of Muslims?"

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 521, 651, 802f; R. E. Speer, Presbyterian Foreign Missions (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 207, Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 45, and Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 217.

## The Development of the Syrian Evangelical Churches and Muslim Evangelization

The Syrian Evangelical Churches gradually felt the need for stronger union and accepted the plan for forming a Synod and Presbyteries (1882). The Presbyteries of Sidon (1883), Tripoli (1890) and Mount Lebanon (1896) included missionaries as corresponding members as well as Syrian ministers and elders. In spite of war, disease, and emigration, the Church experienced healthy growth so that by 1910, there were 34 Presbyterian congregations with over 2,600 communicants and nearly 10,000 souls. Serious weakness regarding "self-support" in 1876 was being remedied with good progress by 1908. Mission schools and Sunday schools were also flourishing.<sup>1</sup>

The most serious defect was the failure to attract and train young men for the Christian ministry and evangelism. While the loss of talent through emigration explains this in part, the failure to provide a stable and enduring theological seminary cannot be overlooked. When missionaries are fascinated with "liberal arts" education and new technical skills, it is not difficult to understand why students turned to the more alluring marketable trades. To understand how serious this problem was, it must be noted that although 95 had been taught in theological classes only 14 had been ordained by 1908.<sup>2</sup> While the Mission made considerable talk about a "native ministry", it failed to give it the attention and the quality training-center deserved. Its projection of the "ministry" could not compete with the professions advertized at the Syrian Protestant College. The occupation of key pulpits by ordained missionaries, e.g. H. Jessup in Beirut, while qualified men such as John Wortabet turned to medical education may indicate an unwillingness of

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<sup>1</sup>For comparative statistics in 1876 and 1908: churches 10 and 34, ordained pastors 3 and 10, licensed preachers 13 and 31, teachers 96 and 174, contributions by Syrians \$1,252 and \$49,536. For more details cf. Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 814.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 353.

missionaries to step down.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the causes, this severely handicapped the Syrian Churches and work among Muslims.

Although emigration drained off nearly one half of the Evangelical membership in centers such as Tripoli and Beirut, one must not minimize the quality of lay and ordained leadership remaining. Protestant Syrians were some of the finest educated men in the Near East. For example, Butrus Bistany (d. 1883), a charter member of the Beirut Church and elder for 35 years, rendered scholarly assistance to the Arabic translation of the Bible, founded a National School (1862), and edited a newsheet, periodical and Arabic encyclopedia.<sup>2</sup> Others went to Egypt to found newspapers, periodicals and to give impulse to the educational-literary awakening among the Arabs. Some traveled to the Americas, Africa and Australia. Settling there or returning, they produced a creative exchange of ideas.<sup>3</sup> Every Christian tradition in the Levant felt this stimulus. A Syrian leader once remarked, "You Protestants are a small sect, yet you have changed us all."

What bearing did this have on Muslim evangelization? First, the ultimate objective had not been forgotten by either Syrian Church or Mission. Jessup understood the spiritual and political issues well:

"God has been preparing Christianity for Islam; He is now preparing Islam for Christianity....It is a work of surprising difficulty which will require a new baptism of apostolic wisdom and energy, faith and love."<sup>4</sup>

The whole design awaited the arrival of religious liberty in his opinion. Yet the simple fact remained that even in 1910 the more nominal groups of the Druzes, Metawileh and Nusairiyeh (much less the Sunni and Shi'a) remained largely untouched.

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<sup>1</sup>Observations gained by study of Ibid., I, 142, 348, II, 604f, et passim.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 483ff; Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 224; and Addison, Christian Approach, pp. 133f.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., cf. Abraham Mitrie Rihbanny, The Syrian Christ (Boston, 1916) and P. K. Hitti, The Syrians in America (New York, 1924). Writings by Lootfy Levonian, A. H. Hourani, E. J. Jurji as well as P. Hitti demonstrate the ability of Syrian Christians.

<sup>4</sup>Jessup, The Mohammedan Missionary Problem (1879), pp. 14ff.



Some reasons are obvious. First, neither the Ottoman government, nor succeeding Turkish and Syrian governments, permitted open work among Muslims. Religious freedom was really theoretic and an inquirer's or convert's existence most precarious. Even so, one Muslim Sheikh admitted the existence of many secret believers: "Many Christians will rise from Moslem graves in Syria".<sup>1</sup> Second, while transfer from one religious community to another is always difficult, actual provision for re-registering (upon conversion) was non-existent in many places. Third, the competitive spirit of Christian groups in Syria-Lebanon made them jealous of growth in another, e.g. in the past Maronites might attempt to block any widespread Muslim movement to Protestantism. Fourth, Evangelical Churches were often reluctant to receive and assimilate a convert from Islam. They were suspicious of him as an individual and fearful of possible consequences for their community. They inherited many of the prejudices of the Orthodox or Roman Catholic bodies from which they had come. Fifth, even Missions had problems with "vested interests". Addison detects this problem and the hope of the future:

"The Evangelical Church and the missionary institutions have become vested interests, whose welfare must not be jeopardized by the persecution which would arise if Moslems deserted their religion in appreciable numbers. There are moments then, when the workers wonder if perhaps they are not almost more afraid of success than of failure. But we may assume with confidence that these are only their weaker moments. The coming years will prove them equal to a beckoning opportunity."<sup>2</sup>

What favorable signs were appearing? First, this region, especially the Lebanon, was leading the Near East in moving towards a pluralistic society in which religious freedom was permitted. As Christian communities dropped their foreign backing (French, Russia, Anglo-American), they became better orientated to their own lands. Access to one another and to Muslims improved with the emphasis on "nationality". Second, all were learning that Muslim evangelization must be

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<sup>1</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, I, 146.

<sup>2</sup>Addison, Christian Approach, p. 138.

sustained by the support and activity of a corporate group. Private theories and individual experiments soon terminate. As Jessup stated "the Moslem citidel is not to be taken by theories but by faithful instruction, personal acquaintance and persevering effort".<sup>1</sup> As the Evangelical Churches slowly gained vision and determination to evangelize their Muslim neighbors, all were assured they would find the strength for this labor of love. Third, the twentieth century brought with it new channels for communicating Christian truth, e.g. radio and television, and a new awareness of the vast resources of "lay-witness". The growing influence of world opinion supporting religious liberty would undoubtedly help open these channels. Even the World Mission Conference at Edinburgh (1910) acknowledged the great strides made in evangelistic work among Muslims in the Levant and the promise of things to come.<sup>2</sup> Presbyterians in Syria were encouraged to strengthen the arm of their "two-pronged" approach which was extended towards their Muslim neighbors. They did so in the hope inscribed upon the Great Mosque in Damascus which had survived the terrible fire of 1893: "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is a Kingdom of all ages, and Thy dominion from generation to generation."

#### Northern Presbyterians in Persia (Iran), 1870-1910

With the transfer of 1870, Presbyterians took charge of what was now the "Mission to Persia". Regretably, the extensive and in a sense successful work among the Nestorians about Urumia (Western Persia), must be passed over so that attention may be given to work among Muslims and others at Hamadan, Tabriz, Teheran, etc. Suffice it to mention that the revivals among the Nestorians did contribute a number of outstanding evangelists who reached out to Muslims, Kurds, as well as to their own people. Mission rivalry (1880-1914) between the Presbyterian Mission,

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<sup>1</sup>Jessup, Fifty-five Years, II, 546ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Report of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, IX, 255.

the Anglican "Assyrian Mission", and the Russian Orthodox Church did however lead to what appeared to be unnecessary fragmentation. What proved to be most disastrous for this ascending Assyrian people were regional and international politics. World War I would usher in a chain of tragic events which would destroy and scatter this people caught in the midst of Reformation and Renaissance.<sup>1</sup>

The Presbyterian program for Muslims was to become much stronger in Persia than Syria, but at first it was seriously hampered by limited manpower. In 1871, there were only three male American missionaries and Robert Bruce (C.M.S.), nevertheless, they tenaciously clung to the hope that all might be privileged to hear God's news in Christ. Gradually it emerged that the Presbyterians would expand north of the 34th parallel and the Anglicans would strive to cover the southern region (e.g. Ispahan, Kerman, Yezd, etc.).

Within the context of the larger history of Persia, it is very apparent, perhaps more than the missionaries realized at the time, that Politics had an immense bearing on their work. Persian Christians were frequently caught in the middle of international intrigues, invasions and withdrawals, each with their own consequences. While it is impossible to scrutinize this whole political question, it will continue to intrude into any portrayal of work among Muslims. Two things needing examination, however, are the Mission's geographic expansion to centers of Muslim population and experimentation in means for their evangelization.

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<sup>1</sup>For fuller treatment cf. A Century of Mission Work in Iran, 1834-1934 (Beirut, 1936); J. Elder, History of the American Presbyterian Mission to Iran, 1834-1960 (Iran, n.d.); R. E. Speer, Missions and Politics in Asia (New York, 1897); W. A. Shedd, "Relation of the Protestant Missionary Effort to the Nestorian Church," M.R.W., 8 (1895), 741ff; Samuel G. Wilson, "Conversion of the Nestorians of Persia to the Russian Church," M.R.W., 12 (1899), 745ff; Mary L. Shedd, The Measure of a Man, the Life of William Ambrose Shedd (New York, 1922); W. A. Shedd, Islam and the Oriental Churches, their Historical Relations (Philadelphia, 1904); Under the War Clouds in Urmia, West Persia, 1914-19, (Presbyterian Board, New York, 1919); and The Assyrian Tragedy (Annemasse, 1934).

<sup>2</sup>James Bassett, Persia, Land of the Prophets, (London, 1887).



## Geographical Expansion to Muslim Centers in Persia

The Persian Mission gradually opened up new centers at Teheran (1872), Tabriz (1873), Hamadan (1881), Resht (1902), Kermanshah (1905) and Meshed (1911) in addition to Urumia (1834). The procedure at the first three centers was to begin with the Armenians and Nestorians of the city and then to reach the Jews and Muslims as fast as possible. In other stations, Muslims were among the first contacted. The station at Teheran established by James Bassett gives insight into the difficulties encountered and overcome. Except for a Nestorian colporteur, this capital of growing international importance had been without a Protestant witness since William Glen's death.<sup>1</sup> In addition to linguistic and political issues, the basic questions were "How to root the Church?" and "How to prepare the Muslim for the Gospel?" The selection of the linguistic medium was most vital to the future of Muslim work:

"It was a serious question in the opening of the mission in Teheran, whether efforts should be directed especially and exclusively to the Armenians, following the example of the Mission to the Nestorians, or whether the missionary should seek to reach all classes, and make use of the Persian language for this purpose....The Persian tongue is known by all classes of the people, but there was the possibility that the authorities of the State would forbid the use of Persian language, owing to the fact that it is not the tongue of the non-Mohammedan races, and the use of it might be thought one evidence of an attempt to proselyte the Mohammedans to the Christian faith. It was determined, however to make the Persian tongue the medium of missionary work in teaching and especially in preaching....The first evangelical efforts consisted chiefly in preaching and in the sale of the Scriptures."<sup>2</sup>

Bassett was soon drawing Armenians, Jews and Muslims to services at a Chapel.

A wave of interest among the city's Jews (1875) produced results when a court ruled their right to become Christians (1878). A school for Jewish children under

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<sup>1</sup>England, Russia, Turkey and France had legations there in 1872. By 1885, Austria, U.S.A. and Germany would join the list. The population of 200,000 included 1,000 Armenians, 5,000 Jews, numerous Parsis, several hundred Europeans and a majority of Muslims.

<sup>2</sup>James Bassett, Persia, Land of the Imams, A Narrative of Travel and Residence, 1871-1885 (London, 1887), pp. 328f.

a converted Hebrew principal drew 125 students within its first week (1879). By 1890 the Shah favored both the Teheran Boys' and Girls' schools with a visit. Many of the students were at that time Muslim! The Church in Teheran organized (1876) with twelve Persian charter members including one Muslim convert, Husain. By 1883, two congregations with fifty members included four converts from Islam and three from Judaism. L. F. Esselstyn began English services (1887) for the foreigners of the city.<sup>1</sup> Although some Evangelical members returned to the Armenian Orthodox Church in 1896, the Evangelical Church by the turn of the century had an average attendance of over one hundred including numerous Muslims.

Political obstructions to work with Muslims continued. In 1879-1880, there was a wave of interest in Christianity among Muslims. Joseph L. Potter reported that "so numerous and so prolonged were the calls upon the missionary that it was sometimes difficult for him to find time for his meals."<sup>2</sup> An alarmed Persian Government ordered the Mission, via the British minister, to prevent Muslims from attending Christian services or religious instruction. Failing to have the order modified, the Mission painfully resolved (1881) to close the Chapel until such time as the Gospel could be shared with all. Obedience to God rather than man, they observed, made it impossible to discriminate!<sup>3</sup> It appeared for a time that the missionaries might be expelled. In 1882, the Government relaxed its stand somewhat by transferring responsibility to the Persian police and while not prosecuting such "attendance", warned against apostasy. In Tabriz, Muslims attending services were arrested and flogged. In this same period, schools were twice closed and reopened. The arrival of S. G. W. Benjamin, first American resident

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<sup>1</sup>The growth of an "ex-patriate population" after W.W. II resulted in the formation of the Community Church and Community School. By 1953, they called their own pastor and became largely independent of the Mission.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in R. E. Speer, Presbyterian Foreign Missions, pp. 225f.

<sup>3</sup>James Bassett, Persia, Eastern Mission (Philadelphia, 1890), p. 230.

diplomat (1883), supplied the Mission with a regularized channel for communication and appeals. By 1884, Muslims were attending services in even greater numbers. By the next year Muslims were receiving public baptism and some score of converts were scattered throughout the land. Work in Teheran was handicapped by the close scrutiny of the Shah and Muslim authorities, high costs, foreign intrigue, and time-consuming "lobbying", yet it is certain this confrontation in Persia's capital cleared the way for the future. Barrett was especially concerned that "preparatory work" among Muslims might open the way for future acceptance of the Gospel. It was a fact that Muslims had:

"...no intellectual and religious preparation inclining them to accept the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel. Whatever of Christian faith has reached them has come in the distorted and perverted form presented in the Koran, and is intended to prejudice their minds against the Christian statement of the gospel. In every people which has been brought under the power of the gospel there has been a long period of preparation before any great reformation has been effected."<sup>1</sup>

Similar concerns were voiced in other stations. In Tabriz (1873), Peter Easton and Mary Jewett found opposition from both Armenian priests and the mujtahids. Still Muslim attendance persisted in spite of beatings and the death of one inquirer. In 1892, the government without notification locked the church and school charging:

"lack of proper permission to build the church, having the ten commandments written in the interior of the church in a Mohammedan language and in the sacred blue color, having a water tank under the church in which to baptize converts, having a tower in which we intended to put a bell, baptizing Mussulmans of whom Mirza Ibrahim was now in prison, receiving Mussulman boys into our school and women to the church, having Dr. Bradford's dispensary near the church."<sup>2</sup>

Reopened after delays, the school and church were composed mainly of those of Muslim background until the city was overrun by armies and Christian refugees during **World War I.**

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 171f.

<sup>2</sup>S. G. Wilson, Persia, Western Mission (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 189. Also of interest, Persian Life and Customs (2nd edition, London, 1865) and Mary Jewett, Twenty-five Years in Persia (Chicago, 1898).



At Hamadan (the Ecbatana of Ezra 4:2) and surrounding villages, James W. Hawkes, Mullah Mohammad Rasooli (known as Kaka) and others established a full medical, educational, literary-evangelism program. At least fifty percent of the enrollment at the Boys' School was Muslim by World War I. More than half of the 255 members received into St. Stephens Church before 1915 had attended the Faith Hubbard School. Jews and Muslims were likewise attracted to the first Congregation (1875) by the appealing preaching of Pastor Shimoon. A second congregation -- the Peniel Church, composed entirely of converts from Judaism and Islam -- formed by 1894. A "Christian village" was proposed to escape the persecution and hardship inflicted upon converts, but its failure was probably a blessing in disguise for it meant that this witness was kept within society.<sup>1</sup> Work at the Resht station (1902) saw the small Church (1883) undergirded by schools and medicine. The Evangelical Church at Kermanshah organized with seven nationals, two converts from Judaism and five from Islam. Following World War I, an influx of Assyrian Christians bolstered the membership to two hundred. One of the most interesting developments took place at Meshed in Northwestern Persia (chief city of Khorasan and gateway to Afghanistan). Bassett ventured to this holy city of fanatic Muslims in 1878 to sell many bibles and books there. Translating the Gospel of Matthew into Gaghatta (the region's Turkish dialect), he later struck a response among several prominent Muslims who were disgusted by the conditions about them. In another attempt, Esselstyn was forced to leave the city after one month (1895), but by 1900 he had won the friendship of Haji Mullah Ali, the mujtahid of Semnan (on the Teheran-Meshed road). Esselstyn eventually resided in Meshed alone for four years (1911-1915) and by quietly selling books and persuasively sharing the Gospel, gained a following. Joined by D. M. Donaldson and others (1915), they cared for thousands stricken by starvation and typhus during the war. While

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Bassett, Persia, Eastern Mission, pp. 175ff, 213, and John Elder, Mission to Iran, pp. 33ff.

Esselstyn baptized only a few converts before his death by that disease (1918), Donaldson was to baptize fourteen on Christmas, 1920, thus to usher an all-convert Church into existence.<sup>1</sup>

#### Extension and Experimentation in the "Means" of Muslim Evangelization

What methods lie behind the reasonably successful work in Persia? It appears that in the nineteenth century, literature and education were the choice tools of evangelism. Early in the twentieth century, medicine and education gained a slight edge in priority. Yet even during this time, Secretaries Brown and Speer promoted direct evangelism among Muslims and missionaries J. Christy Wilson and William Miller were determined to implement the same. After the government's take-over of the educational system (1928-1940), the crisis in theology and mission (1928-1938), and the formation of the Evangelical Church in Iran (1933-1934), attention was certainly refocused upon the proclamation of the Christian Message and the lively witness of the national Community of Christ.

Literary evangelism expanded as Persian works from the Urumia Press filtered across the land. The total Persian Christian library before 1875 included only a positive tract presenting Christianity (without criticizing Islam) by Merrick, his translation of Keith's Evidences (Edinburgh, 1846), and Pfander's Balance of Truth (1835) plus the newer portable edition of the Glen-Martyn Persian Bible being distributed by William Wright. About that time, the presses in Teheran and Hamadan began a program of publication for Christian and Muslim Persians. Bassett helped with the Persian Hymnbook (1876-1898), translated a Primer (1876) and the Westminster Shorter Catechism (1884) while Potter tackled Pilgrim's Progress (1884) and Hawkes produced a Bible Handbook (1897). Later the Inter-Church

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<sup>1</sup>By 1940, this congregation numbered 90 communicants and had branches in three neighboring villages. Cf. Elder, Mission to Iran, pp. 56ff and A Century of Mission Work in Iran, pp. 13ff.

Literature Program under J. D. Frame, W. N. Wysham (1924-1938) and John Elder (1938-1960) would tap many talents in producing materials.

Preaching found greater response among the Muslims of the land than in most Near Eastern countries. Bassett found "isolated communities" in Khorasan as well as citizens of Teheran willing to hear the Gospel:

"There is apparent everywhere a deep seated dissatisfaction with the prevalent form of religion. We have all we can do, and more, to merely meet the demands now made for religious instruction and for the Bible. The disposition of the government is known to be favorable to religious liberty, and its establishment cannot long be delayed."<sup>1</sup>

This ferment was evidenced by the rapid growth of the Babi (Bahai) movement. The Mission avoided controversy, however, and never attempted to distribute Pfander's works (it appears some C.M.S. workers felt differently) but only used them in training sessions with workers. Bassett felt that "The conversion of the people must be effected, if at all, by the teaching of the Bible by the missionary".<sup>2</sup> The balanced talented personality and work of Esselstyn makes a good study in effective evangelism among Muslims. Here was a man who never failed to give verbal expression to God's plan as disclosed in Christ. Traveling over wide areas, distributing Scriptures and preaching, he won the confidence of leaders and laymen alike. An example of his approach is seen at Semnan (1900). Calling privately upon Haji Mullah Ali, a chief mujtahid whom he had earlier befriended, he spent three hours explaining the path of salvation and Christ as the crowning expression of God's love (esp. I Cor. 13 and John 3:16). Requesting a Bible, the Haji confessed, "You have the way of salvation, be faithful". Esselstyn was invited to attend prayers at the mosque and following worship requested to speak to the 1,000 assembled. His message on the "Prodigal Son" and "repentance" was so well received that again he gained the Haji's praise. During the rest of his stay,

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in A Century, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Bassett, Persia, Eastern Mission, pp. 281ff.



Esselstyn spoke with a constant stream of visitors. It was this same spirit of work by Esselstyn at Meshed that prepared the way for an all convert church. Later itinerant evangelism increased under William M. Miller, J. Christy Wilson and John Elder. "Grass-roots" evangelism met friendly response in the populous province of Khorasan as well as about Tabriz and Hamadan. It was found that converts in rural areas generally gravitated towards the towns where they could unite in fellowship with other Christians.<sup>1</sup> Persian converts made a growing contribution to literary work as Iran developed a "nationalism" of her own. Mansur Sang, a Christian dervish, was a unique example of adaptation to Persian modes of life. He earned his living pulling teeth and giving vaccinations as he distributed great quantities of literature across Iran.<sup>2</sup>

Educational institutions were generally started for Nestorians, Armenians or Jews and then gradually attracted increasing numbers of Muslims. From 1870 to the first World War, this expansion continued in nearly every city. After visiting Europe, Shah Nasr-ad-Din gave western type education greater freedom in spite of complaints from mullahs and mujtahids. Persian nobles and the Royal family quietly sent their children to mission schools so that by 1910, one-third of the enrollment was Muslim. After the Cairo Conference (1906), S. G. Wilson (d. 1916) tried to instill the idea of educational evangelism for Muslims among all Armenian and Persian Christians. Later at Teheran, "Iran Bethel" for girls would become Sage College for Women and the Boys' school under S. M. Jordon expanded into Alborz College. As in Turkey and Syria, a national movement in post-war Iran would lead to the nationalization of the Mission's educational work. First, primary (1932) and then high schools and colleges (1940) were taken over. Earlier transfer to the national church might have saved them, but some felt the

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<sup>1</sup>Elder, Mission to Iran, p. 60, 87; A Century, pp. 155ff.

<sup>2</sup>Elder, Mission to Iran, p. 95.

young church was better off unfettered by an expensive educational system. Nevertheless these schools produced many national leaders and created a public opinion much more favorable to the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup>

Medical work among Muslims received a fairer test in Persia than in either Turkey or Syria. No other activity experienced such growth as that of medical work. Early missionary doctors confined their practice to dispensary-clinic work and itinerating, but as western medicine came into its own and surgery increased, hospitals became a necessity. This required larger staffs, a complexity of equipment, and an increasing budget. Quality treatment to growing numbers soon exhausted the time and energies of missionary doctors and nurses. They found less time to converse with patients of their faith in Christ. While creating favorable impressions, they paradoxically were often unable to follow up the opportunity. Thus as the twentieth century progressed, medical missionary work became a subject of much debate.

The statistics concerning the number of Persian Muslims reached by medical work is almost unbelievable. Joseph P. Cochran (d. 1905) son of J. P. Cochran, returned to Persia (1878) and adeptly put his medical and linguistic skills to work. Westminster Hospital at Urumia (1882) became the first Mission hospital in Persia.<sup>2</sup> W. W. Torrence, pioneer physician in central Persia, was so respected that he served on the official Persian Envoy to Washington, D. C. (1888) and G. W. Holmes of Tabriz acted as physician to the crown prince. Mary Bradford of Tabriz brought compassion and care to women and children (1888-1905) while Mary Smith and J. G. Wishard saw the famed Teheran Hospital come into being. There is no gauge for measuring the mighty influence this program had upon Persian Muslims and others.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 74ff, *et passim*; A Century, pp. 79-104, S. G. Wilson, Persia, Western Mission, pp. 311ff; and Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 323.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Robert Speer, The Foreign Doctor. A Biography of Joseph Plumb Cochran, M.D., of Persia (Chicago, 1911).

In time Persian Christians entered into medical evangelism, e.g. Dr. Saeed Kurdistani (d. 1942), a former Muslim mullah and brother of Kaka, became a beloved shepherd of healing and witness in Teheran.<sup>1</sup> During and after World War I, the Mission became heavily involved in relief and refugee work, industrial and farm schools, recreation centers, clubs, clinics and leper work. These reflected both the "crying needs" of the land and the theological-mission outlook in America. This consuming sacrificial work, compassion and courage, won the lasting respect and confidence of many in Persia.

Both Presbyterians and Anglicans were increasing their Medical Programs at the turn of the century, but these were still in need of fuller evaluation. Certain assets were obvious. First, they opened doorways to the Persian people, i.e. the first avenue reaching such great numbers of Muslims. When properly carried out, the hospital became a dynamic evangelistic center and the doctor, an effective evangelist whose words were readily received. He proclaimed and demonstrated the healing that Christ offers to the "whole man". Second, medical work proved effective in breaking down prejudices based on ignorance, fear or suspicion. While eliminating the unsanitary use of objects, it removed the idea that Christians were "ceremonially unclean". Thus it paved the way for good human relationships between Christians and all classes, royalty, ulema and peasant alike. Third, the saving of life and the alleviation of suffering was a justifiable service rendered in Christian compassion. Regretably circumstances gradually made medical work more of a case of "charity" than "communication". The government gradually curtailed the itinerant evangelistic medical work and restricted the Mission to institutionalized centers.

While medical work and medical education multiplied, it became obvious

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<sup>1</sup>Isaac M. Yonan, The Beloved Physician of Teheran (Nashville, 1934) and J. C. Wilson, The Christian Message to Islam (New York, 1950), pp. 120-132. For fuller treatment of this program cf. A Century, pp. 40-73; Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 320f.



again that certain factors easily became liabilities. First, improving medical technology and facilities, while a blessing, made the budget a bottomless pit which could soon swallow other phases of mission or stifle their growth. Only one-eighth of the budget came from abroad but this was a major share of the Mission's total resources. Charges to patients had to increase. This was good in that it made patients more discerning as to the worth of labors and medicines rendered, but it did make the work look more like a "business". Increasing government controls further complicated matters. Second, and perhaps more serious, was the query: "What was the relationship between this service and Christian witness?" In some humanitarian circles it was held that medical work needed no "Word" for the "Deed" was valid in itself. In practice however the patient could construe the deed to mean many things, e.g. merit earning, etc. Even when there was the will to preach as well as heal, the multiplication of physical chores could soon reach a point where the worker was too exhausted to convey the idea it was done "in Christ's name". Soon witness was being relegated to chaplains and others. When this happened, it could be asked, why not let secular institutions take over the medical phase? Such were the questions fired about in mission circles from the First World War onwards.<sup>1</sup>

#### An Evangelical Church and Evaluation

The Evangelical (Presbyterian) Church in Iran included scores of converts from Islam by 1910. Work among Muslims met with greater success here than in most Arab-Turkish lands, being surpassed only by efforts in North India and the East Indies. The Persians were receptive to ideas of religious liberty and while these were not incorporated into a constitution (e.g. Egypt, Turkey), they were practiced as an unwritten code. The fact that Islam had been forced upon the Persians, that

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<sup>1</sup>One of the finest recent discussions in this area is the consultation on The Healing Ministry in the Mission of the Church, Tübingen, May 19-25, 1964, Division of World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, Geneva.

it was divided by many sects, and that they felt a kinship to Aryan peoples may have contributed to this openness. Yet fanaticism was not unknown in the early days. Mirza Ibrahim, a convert baptized at Khoi and arrested while preaching at Urumia, died of injuries received in prison (1893). Yet his bold testimony of faith at his trial and before the governor was perhaps a step towards the day when Muslim and Jewish converts could live without fear of physical molesting in Iran. Talented Persian converts like Dr. Saeed of Teheran and his brother, Kaka gained the respect and hearing of many Muslims.<sup>1</sup> The congregations at Teheran (1878), Hamadan (1876), Tabriz and Resht included Muslim converts and those at Kermanshah and Meshed were composed almost entirely of such. Jews, Armenians, Nestorians, Muslims, Kurds, Parsis and Europeans knit together as a worshipping family made a fine demonstration of God's reconciling work in Christ. The personal sacrifice and frequent pains experienced kept the churches mindful that "reconciliation" is a present activity rather than a guaranteed status.

The Evangelical Church continued to grow in spite of political and social pressures and by 1910 numbered over 3,000 communicants. During World War I, the western "Nestorian" sector of the Church was almost wiped out. Nevertheless the "Evangelical Church of Iran" would organize into three presbyteries and select its own Persian Moderator (1934) to receive full recognition as an independent church by the parent body, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (1935). At this time, it had 26 organized churches and 45 unorganized groups with about 2,272 communicants. Relationships between this young Evangelical Church and the Anglican Church in the South were most cordial and found expression in the "All Persian Inter-Church Conferences" held at Hamadan (1925), Isfahan (1927) and Teheran (1931). The continuation of these Conferences have provided opportunity for inspirational fellowship, discussion of problems facing Persian Christians and possible church

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<sup>1</sup>R. E. Speer and Russel Carter, Report on India and Persia (New York, 1922), pp. 340, 403ff.

union, and a growing ecumenical concern for the fuller evangelization of Iran. The Churches of Iran continue to exhibit every prospect of a rich future in a country of equal promise.<sup>1</sup>

What evaluation can be made of the Presbyterian work in Iran? First, it was successful in terms both of Church-renewal and direct conversions (two-pronged). Although the Nestorian and Armenian Churches had become ingrown, defensive and lacking evangelistic zeal, they gradually experienced degrees of revival even at the cost of "life". While this was "progress at a price", as John Joseph admits, it broke the spiritual stalemate which had gripped Persia.<sup>2</sup> The conversion of so many Jews to Christianity was remarkable, but the conversion of so many Muslims in a land under Islamic Law still more noteworthy. It revealed the power of Christ to draw men from all corners of the earth when even a minimum of liberty is provided. The Presbyterian Annual Mission Reports listed converts from Islam every year although specific names, places and details were discreetly omitted. The turn of the century was described as "The Beginning of the Harvest" in the centennial volume as workers found Muslims "surprisingly accessible".<sup>3</sup> Second, the work successfully permeated society, improved various human relationships and advanced the spirit of religious liberty. Besides the contributions in literature, education, public health, the Mission did its part in shaping a new public opinion. John Elder rightly tells how the Mission:

"came to a country so fanatical that any work with Moslems was pronounced impossible, and by loving service and friendly relations helped to build mutual understanding and respect and to bring nearer the era of complete religious freedom."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A Century, pp. 14, 108f, 124; Elder, Mission to Iran, pp. 38f, 90.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. John Joseph. Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors. A Study of Western Influence on Their Relations (Princeton, 1961)

<sup>3</sup>A Century, pp. 31ff.

<sup>4</sup>Elder, Mission to Iran, p. 97.



Missionaries and Persian Christians threw themselves wholeheartedly into the work of "nation-building" and have gained the public's respect. Thirdly, the work succeeded in finding "points of contact" in Persian thought through which the communication of the Gospel could be channeled. Missionaries found in Shi'ite Islam some understanding of sacrificial death and atonement (Muharram and Husain's martyr death), of messianic hope (the hidden Iman), and of religious liberty which rejected rigid Sunni structures and enforcement. These points opened the way to discussion of revelation and incarnation, the Messiah, the Cross, suffering, atonement, repentance and conversion. The speculative outlook of the older Mutazilite school lived on among Persian sufis in spite of mujtahid controls. This segment of the population often showed disgust with Islam. While some of these took the full step to Christianity, others went halfway to Bahaism or took on a secular, agnostic or nationalistic outlook which excluded religious content. A number of missionaries paid close attention to effective communication of the Gospel to Muslims, e.g. Pitman, J. Christy Wilson, William Miller, etc. Pitman's approach was to make a simple positive presentation stressing (1) our need of a mediator, (2) our need of an example, (3) our need of Divine Power to follow this example and (4) how all these are met in Christ. His avoidance of verbal comparison gained a convert's approval:

"From my experience I believe that comparison creates antagonism. I believe that we should show the love of God positively. This is the principle I follow, just to preach Christ. If we make comparisons, then people must defend themselves."<sup>1</sup>

Miller held that as soon as persons received this proclamation and declared their allegiance to Christ, they should be given the privilege of baptism. This stood in contrast to the long probation period practiced by some. J. Christy Wilson stressed a flexible evangelistic program. The main effort must be to found churches not mission stations.

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<sup>1</sup>Speer and Carter, Report (1922), p. 393.

"No David who may be sent to Zenjan or to Maragha should be encumbered with the Saul's armour of any institution. When churches have been found that will stand upon their own resources and propagate the Gospel in their districts, the mission force should be ready to leave."

Wilson would help in a series of evangelistic services at Tabriz in the post-war period which resulted in 116 confessions of faith (including 5 Muslims). Appreciating the value of group movements, he noted:

"It is probably true that many of these people came first within the influence of the Gospel hoping to receive loaves and fishes, (but) people came to Christ in the same spirit and whatever their first motives they offer a stirring challenge..."

Secretary Robert Speer backed the opinion that all institutions and agencies must be geared to the primary task of evangelization. The Mission must remain mobile, engaged in "Proclamation", in order to stimulate an indigenous Christian movement which would have the spontaneity and adaptability to spread over the whole country.<sup>1</sup> The two-pronged Presbyterian approach in Persia was worthy of commendation and circumstances allowed that it should be truly doxological.

#### United Presbyterians in Egypt, 1854-1910

##### Ecclesiastical and Environmental Elements in Missions to Muslims

The Coptic Orthodox Church had an illustrious history dating back possibly to St. Mark. The Alexandrian school of theology under Origen and Athanasius was most influential and the monasticism of Upper Egypt reached west via Benedict of Nursia. While holding to the monophysite position in tension with the Greek Church, this great Church was overrun by Arab invaders (A.D. 639) and soon isolated from other Christians for centuries of Islamic rule. Enduring numerous political, social and economic restrictions and persecution for Faith's sake, the Church survived in a land that eventually became about 90% Muslim. Commendable as this was,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 510-516 contains a Report by J. C. Wilson. Also see his books, The Christian Message to Islam and Introducing Islam (New York, 1950).

the Church suffered from stagnation and was reluctant to be either the agent or object of "mission".<sup>1</sup>

Egyptian politics had equal bearing on Protestant missions. Nearly three centuries of Turkish rule were shattered by French designs on Britain's empire. Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion (1798) shook confidence in Ottoman might and only with British aid was Egypt theoretically restored to Turkey (1801). Muhammad Ali, an Albanian officer with a modernized army, became the real power (sometimes called the "Father" of modern Egypt). Defeating the British, he executed the Mameluk line and pressed north into Syria. Recognized as Pasha by the Sultan (1811), his realm at one time spread from Khartoum to Anatolia (1833). Only with British help was he forced back within Egypt's borders and brought under Turkish suzerainty (cf. Treaty of London, 1841). Yet before his death (1849), Egypt had borrowed extensively from European science, military techniques, cotton production, etc. Ali's son, Abbas earned a name as a harsh reactionary (1849-1854) but his successor Said Pasha (1854-1863) was a progressive leader anxious to establish greater religious liberty. During his rule, the United Presbyterian Mission (sometimes called the American Mission) formed and became the largest Protestant endeavor in the land.<sup>2</sup>

United Presbyterian workers in Damascus conceived of the program in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Two veterans of Damascus, James Barnett (1817-1884) and Gulian Lansing (1825-1892)

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<sup>1</sup>For fuller treatment cf. E. L. Butcher, The Story of the Church in Egypt (2 vols., London, 1897); Alfred J. Butler, The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt (2 vols., Oxford, 1884); W. S. Blackman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt, (London, n.d.); S. H. Leeder, Modern Sons of the Pharaohs. A Study of the Manners and Customs of the Copts of Egypt (London, ca. 1918); and Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 21ff.

<sup>2</sup>Later they were joined by the revived C.M.S. Mission (1882), the inter-denominational Egypt General Mission (1898) and smaller Scottish, German, Canadian, Dutch, Pentecostal, YMCA-YWCA groups.

<sup>3</sup>Technically, work in 1854 was begun by the Associate Reformed Church of the West which soon became part of the United Presbyterian Church of North America (1858).



joined with recruit Thomas McCague to begin work in 1854.<sup>1</sup> Scottish missionary John Hogg (1833-1886) accepted appointment with their board (1859)<sup>2</sup> and Andrew Watson arrived (1861)<sup>3</sup> to make up the early leadership. Other active figures included Ebenezer Currie, S. C. Ewing, W. Harvey, Dr. D. R. Johnston, J. R. Alexander, the troublesome B. F. Pinkerton, and Miss M. J. Mcknown.<sup>4</sup> Charles R. Watson and Earl Elder appeared later.<sup>5</sup> Their policy from the start was to proclaim the Gospel to the whole population of Egypt and continual effort was exerted that Muslims might hear. However it was soon agreed that two things must precede any widespread response from Muslims. First, the Coptic Church and other Christians in Egypt must be reformed, revived. Second, a political upheaval or ferment must shatter the political, social and economic grip of Islam upon the land.

#### Response to the Environmental Factors

Egypt's intense heat, disease and overwork snuffed out the lives of many missionaries and forced others into sick leave or retirement. The Crimean War and the American Civil War brought added hardships, yet these were not as depressing

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<sup>1</sup>Lansing's work is described in his book, Egypt's Princes; a Narrative of Missionary Labor in the Valley of the Nile (Philadelphia, 1864).

<sup>2</sup>John Hogg, son of a frugal devout mining family of Penston (south of Edinburgh) and graduate of the University of Edinburgh was teaching at the Scottish Boys' School at Alexandria. When the scheme of a "Protestant College for Egypt" fell through, his close friendship with Lansing and McCague led him to accept the new appointment. Cf. Rena L. Hogg, A Master-Builder on the Nile, Being a Record of the Life and Aims of John Hogg, D.D., Christian Missionary (New York, 1914).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Andrew Watson, The American Mission in Egypt, 1854-1896 (Pittsburgh, 1898).

<sup>4</sup>Esp. cf. J. R. Alexander, The Sound of Marching, Bestir Thyself (Cairo, 1928) and A Sketch of the Story of the Evangelical Church in Egypt (Alexandria, 1930).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. C. R. Watson, Egypt and the Christian Crusade (Philadelphia, 1907), In the Valley of the Nile, A Survey of the Missionary Movement in Egypt (New York, 1908), What is this Moslem World (London, 1937) and Earl Elder, Vindicating a Vision, The Story of the American Mission in Egypt, 1854-1954 (Philadelphia, 1958).

as the lack of religious liberty. Missionaries, especially Lansing, spent much time battling to gain equal rights for Christians and to secure the rights of scattered converts from Islam (1858-1864). For a time it was feared that open Muslim hostility might take the same form as India's mutiny, but the impartial and firm rule of Said Pasha saved the day. A case at Assiut (1861) demonstrates the pressure placed on Christians. A formerly Coptic woman married to a Muslim wished to return to the Christian faith and took refuge in the Bishop's residence. Faris, an educated Syrian, was requested to defend her in court, but suffered both physical and verbal abuse from those who refused to take seriously the Sultan's new decrees on liberty. With the aid of W. S. Thayer, Consul-General of the U.S.A., the case was won and the air finally cleared. Relations with Muslims improved and the Christian faith gained new respect.<sup>1</sup> Abraham Lincoln sent a letter of congratulation to the Khedive for his just dealings with the Assiut situation.<sup>2</sup> The next major case was that of Ahmed Fahmi, the Muslim student and teacher who was baptized November 26, 1877. This difficult test case helped prepare the way for Muslim consideration of the option of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Once the Evangelical Coptic Church became a viable social unit, it sought to curb the drunkenness, theft and immorality so rampant in the land. One major accomplishment was the changing of Market Day from Sunday to Saturday in Assiut and neighboring towns. Christianity in Upper Egypt was once again a faith to be respected, an agent of social reform. Perhaps one of the hardest problems faced by the Evangelical Church was the rise of "Plymouthism" under B. F. Pinkerton. His contacts and "Brethren" following among Egyptian Protestants, even after his resignation from the Mission, created tension for several years (1869-1883). Through this experience the whole

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<sup>1</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 129ff.

<sup>2</sup>Hogg, Master-BUILDER, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup>C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, pp. 162ff.

Church gained new appreciation of the price of religious liberty and the need for sound comprehensive teaching in theology.<sup>1</sup> Here was a new concept for Egypt.

"Inherent in the Protestant way of life is freedom of thought and tolerance, allowing a diversity of opinions. That might be at times detrimental to its own cause, but the conviction that truth by its own valour will be victorious without the help of enforcing laws and restrictions is such a lofty conception that it never should be abandoned, even if we have to go through dark periods during which the lawless forces take advantage of misunderstood liberty."<sup>2</sup>

The Evangelical Church in Egypt was challenged to demonstrate Christian love and reconciliation in its new-found liberty.

Under Khedive Ismail (1863-1879), Egypt sought greater independence but ultimately ended in economic dependence. Ismail built the Suez Canal, railways, telegraphs, irrigation works; sponsored the Cairo opera house and Verdi's "Aida"; and encouraged Syrians to publish newspapers, periodicals and translated works. In the midst of much promise, he indebted his country for several hundred million dollars. Indiscreet spending, governmental corruption and bankruptcy caused his creditors (France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy and Great Britain) to be alarmed. Ismail was deposed and his son Tewfik under the "guidance" of French and British financial controllers took over. Pressures on Egyptian Christians again increased. The military rebellion led by Colonel Arabi (1881) disclosed the land's instability. Tewfik caught between Arabi and the Europeans was practically helpless. The massacre of Europeans in Alexandria (June, 1882) brought prompt British action. With the battle of Tel al-Kabir, Britain inaugurated a period of varying influence over Egypt (1882-1952). British rule in Egypt is still a controversial subject. While it sought to treat individuals with justice and equality, Coptic Christians felt they were handicapped by the British administration. Perhaps they had expected too much consideration? However, many missionaries also charged that British interests were served first. This often meant catering to the sentiments of the

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. Alexander, A Sketch, pp. 23ff.

<sup>2</sup>Erich Bethmann, Bridge of Islam, p. 177.



Muslim majority, patronizing existing systems, and maintaining the status quo rather than advancing reform and education. Nevertheless, there was some improvement in human rights as well as economics. A rising Egyptian nationalism eventually led to recognition of the country's independence (1922) and the Revolution (1952). Progress towards religious liberty in these years of ferment (1882-1922) were advanced most by liberal Muslims and Evangelical Christians. Foreigners increasingly had a stigma curtailing their contribution to the cause. It is questionable, however, if the populace would have tolerated a massive movement of Muslims to Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

#### Response to Ecclesiastical Factors

The Mission's response to ecclesiastical issues was expressed by John Hogg:

"The great stumbling-block in the way of doing much for them [Muslims] is the Coptic Church. Mohammedans have not the means at present of knowing what true Christianity is."<sup>2</sup>

His biographer could rightly add:

"In the light of this fact, all effort for the regeneration of the Copts acquired a unique value. He saw in it the forging of a Key that must eventually unlock the closed portal of Islam, and prepare the way for a more direct and concentrated effort to secure the entrance he coveted amongst Egypt's millions....The Copts seemed to him to bear the same relation to the salvation of the Moslems that the Jews of Christ's day bore to the salvation of the Gentiles...."<sup>3</sup>

United Presbyterian policy differed from that of the Anglicans who for decades

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<sup>1</sup>Of interest are: S. A. Morrison, Middle East Survey: the Political, Social and Religious Problems (London, 1954) and Religious Liberty in the Near East (London, 1949); D. M. Finney, Tomorrow's Egypt (Pittsburgh, 1939); Charles Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt (London, 1933); Arthur Weigall, A History of Events in Egypt from 1798-1914 (New York, 1915); J. M. Landau, Parliaments and Parties in Egypt (New York, 1954); James Dunne, Religious and Political Trends in Modern Egypt (Washington, D.C., 1950); and M. Rifast Bey, The Awakening of Modern Egypt (London, 1947).

<sup>2</sup>Hogg, Master-Builder, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

worked with the Coptic clergy hoping to effect reform without disrupting the existing structure of the Coptic Church. The American Mission began work directly with the Coptic laity as well. When enlightened laymen, priests and monks desired to form Evangelical Congregations, support was given. Strangely enough this was not necessarily detrimental to the Ancient Church. The Coptic Church has experienced its greatest rival in the very regions where Evangelical Churches sprang forth. The Mission continued to visualize this work among Copts as a part of its larger mission to the Muslim populace.

How did this policy manifest itself in practice? At Cairo, Scripture-literature distribution, schools, and Sunday afternoon preaching in Arabic and English drew many inquirers. Gradually there emerged Evangelical leaders such as Saleh Awad of Cairo, Makhiel a monk, Wasif Khayat and Hanna Buktur of Assiut, Butrus of Manfalut, and Fam of Kus. When these men could not achieve reform within their own churches, they created Evangelical congregations. This sparked discussions among Copts all along the Nile.<sup>1</sup> At Alexandria (1857) a similar if smaller process ensued. There Hogg and Lansing set forth the basic principle that all mission work must aim at attracting and training a native agency.<sup>2</sup>

By 1858, a vision of potential work at Assiut, Girga, Luxor and Upper Egypt caught the Mission's eye. The river was a natural highway in this great valley where hundreds of villages dotted the 750 miles between Alexandria and Aswan. By winter tours, missionaries could avoid the intense heat yet reach these people humbled by poverty and depotism. The first "Nile River Boat" was outfitted with living quarters, conference room and book-store (1860). The MacCagues, Lansings, and Hoggs, accompanied by National Christians, began the annual system of tours which would continue for several decades. These boats became the vital

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<sup>1</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup>Hogg, Master-Builder, p. 86.

link between stations, itinerant evangelists, book depots, colporteurs and young congregations in Upper Egypt. The procedure was to travel up the Nile by sail or tow to Aswan and then float downstream halting at key villages to sell Bibles and books, hold discussions and short tours, conduct services in schools and churches. Muslims as well as Copts were drawn to these refreshingly simple presentations of the Gospel. It was the spade work which would help fulfil the prophecy that "Princes shall come out of Egypt...."<sup>1</sup> For nineteen years, Hogg provided leadership for the Assiut Station (1865) as teacher of the Boys' School (later Academy, then College), professor to a theological class, leader of an Evangelical Congregation, and as patriarchal shepherd to outlying churches, Egyptian pastors and evangelists. His ministry of solid biblical preaching and teaching helped make Assiut a center of revived Christianity. At first, Hogg tried to avoid head-on collision with the Coptic Church by attending its worship and conducting evangelical services in the afternoon. Once reactionary Copts and Muslims joined forces against these Protestant intruders by a haram (interdict), public book burning and an effort to close the schools, he had little choice but to form a separate church. Evangelical adults and students soon became a target of the levies for Canal work and army. Mob attacks struck Protestant homes in Kus and Fam Stephanos, a leading evangelist, was banished. His release and return was a significant chapter in the annals of the young Church.<sup>2</sup> Many Copts reacted against their Patriarch's "unholy alliance" and began to probe the Scriptures for themselves. Error was not all on the side of Patriarch however. Several zealous but injudicious Protestant youths, after reading of Gideon's throwing down the altar of Baal, unwisely destroyed pictures in a Coptic Church. These "iconoclasts" were duly punished, yet strangely enough this "outrage" sparked the interest of a

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<sup>1</sup>Some of these experiences are recounted in Egypt's Princes by Lansing.

<sup>2</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 212-224.



number of Muslims in Evangelical Christianity. Purchasing Bibles, they desired to learn of this Christianity "without idolatry".<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this disruption of Evangelical-Orthodox relations was a necessary step in shaking off the spiritual stagnation that had so long prevailed.

The formation and nurture of the Evangelical Church soon absorbed a major proportion of the Mission's time and talent. While the concept of a "native agency" was most valid, the proportion of expenditure for this "prong" of the Mission's work has sometimes been questioned. Once an Evangelical Church began to emerge, the Mission begrudged it no good thing. As in North India, a Presbytery formed in Cairo (1860) to ordain John Hogg. This constituted a unique advantage in terms of mission methods, i.e. keeping assignments of personnel and mission as the activity of the Church. Only in 1870, did a separate Mission Organization take shape. This tactical error was prompted by the arrival of lay missionaries (doctors, educators, single women) who called for an organization in which they could have a voice and by the claim that the "Mission" must manage its own properties, personnel and finances. It obscured the fact that the responsible Presbytery, with a growing number of Egyptian clergy and laity teamed together with missionaries, was becoming a truly democratic agency for discussion and action "in mission". This divorcing of "Church" and "Mission" in the popular mind would only be remedied in the twentieth century. One cannot but wish that this authority for mission and concern for Muslims had been kept within the Evangelical Church instead of delegated to a foreign agency!

The growth and vitality of the Evangelical Churches is nevertheless noteworthy. The growing congregations at Cairo and Alexandria survived a first wave of Coptic persecution and firmly but courteously sought to improve inter-church relationships. "Notoriety" and bible study both contributed to the tripling of

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. Alexander, A Sketch, pp. 12-15.

attendance and the organization of "official" Evangelical congregations (1863). By that year, Presbytery also had six candidates for the ministry (including three ex-priests) studying under Lansing in Cairo. Spontaneous growth of evangelical circles continued as many Copts, from peasant to the Patriarch's brother, studied the Bible and prayed for a return to a biblical Christianity. At Assiut, a group under Athanasius, Girgis and Shenooda encouraged their Bishop to hold Bible sessions for all the clergy. Amba Butros, metropolitan bishop of Cairo on visit to Assiut, encouraged bible study and increased training for the clergy in hopeful anticipation of the coming reformation.<sup>1</sup> Several factors contributed to this ferment: (1) the existing Coptic reverence for the Bible was now reinforced by the Mission; (2) this evangelistic spirit was being transmitted by laymen in their everyday channels; (3) Egypt's encounter with western culture and science bolstered a spirit of inquiry; and (4) the dedicated sacrificial work of missionaries and Egyptian Evangelicals prompted a like response in others.<sup>2</sup>

Steady growth in the Evangelical Church from 1870 to 1897, resulted in a Presbytery of 21 ordained Arab ministers, 42 other Presbyterian workers, 39 organized churches and 197 stations, 5,355 communicants, 127 Sunday Schools with nearly 7,000 scholars, 34 colporteurs working from seven depots, plus all the Mission's personnel and projects.<sup>3</sup> The vitality of the young Church was demonstrated in more ways than statistics. In the struggle of national and international politics, Evangelical Egyptians gained respect for being above selfish intrigues.

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<sup>1</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 253ff.

<sup>2</sup>C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, pp. 167ff.

<sup>3</sup>The comparative statistics drawn up by Andrew Watson for each five year report between 1870 and 1897 tells the story most effectively. By 1897, there were 47 missionaries (inc. 16 ordained, 3 doctors, etc.). Cf. American Mission, pp. 279ff. The Church's statistics concerning communicants and clergy would more than double by W.W.I. By W.W.II the Evangelical Church would list 155 clergymen, 150 organized churches, and 22,000 members.

Still they gained their rights in matters of marriage, estates, guardians, etc. by 1878. While missionaries such as Hogg (d. 1885) and Lansing (d. 1892) did their best, the bulk of the credit for an improved social status for Christians lies with Egyptian Evangelicals. Men of the high caliber of Pastor Tadros Yusef and Elder Athanasius soon were taking the lead in evangelistic work, "night meetings", etc. Relationships with the Coptic Orthodox Church improved for the mutual revitalization of all:

"...the building up of the Evangelical Church and the reaction caused thereby, did more to revive the Coptic Church than all the previous efforts directed to this end. The present movement toward reform is strongest just where the Evangelical Church and its influence are the greatest. Experience has abundantly proved, therefore, that the revival of the Coptic Church from within, and the formation of evangelical congregations without, are not opposed to each other, but rather lend each other mutual support."<sup>1</sup>

While retaining its organic links with its parent body, the Evangelical Church was entirely self-governing, self-supporting and growing in its concern for self-propagation by 1926. The price paid for the qualification, "self-supporting" was that "unorganized groups" were separated from the Church and attached to the Mission until they could go independent. The dual structure of "Church" and "Mission" lent itself however to the misunderstanding that one was to "exist" and the other to "evangelize". Even J. R. Alexander's Sketch of the Evangelical Church (1930) doesn't get down to the topic of evangelizing Muslims until "An Afterword" of two pages! Some of the blame for the Evangelical Church's neglect to assimilate Muslim converts and to evangelize Muslim neighbors must rest with the Mission.<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, revitalized Evangelical and Coptic Orthodox Churches offer the most apparent hope for the future evangelization of Muslims in Egypt.

The Muslim Masses and Mission Methods in Egypt.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stanley, "The Policy of the Christian Church in Egypt," Church Missionary Review (June, 1922), 152.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Alexander, A Sketch, pp. 49f., et passim.



It may be well to examine what missionary methods were used to reach the Muslim masses of Egypt. Literature distribution followed by private or small group discussion was a favored means. This medium could circumvent governmental-public pressure opposing public display or preaching aimed directly at Muslims. A well laid network of thirty colporteurs working out from eight shops was able to reach most towns in the Nile valley several times per year. By the end of the century, thousands of bibles, religious and devotional books were sold annually. In addition to translations of Christian classics, there were controversial works on Islam, Roman Catholicism and the Coptic Church. An examination of some 39 Arabic manuscripts of John Hogg reveals that the bulk were solid biblical studies or helps directed towards discipleship and Christian nurture. The founding of the interdenominational Nile Mission Press (1905) for publishing Arabic literature for Muslims and Christians was to be a great boon to this program. By the twentieth century, mass rallies and evangelistic meetings, especially in Upper Egypt were drawing Muslims as well as others.

Education was woven into the very fabric of the Mission with no station or congregation far from a school. There were five types of institutions. Strictly parochial schools under Evangelical Congregations often had the Bible as the main textbook and a church member as teacher. A higher quality education was found at the central stations where Mission Day Schools under Mission supervision had qualified Egyptian, Syrian and missionary teachers. Many of their graduates entered railway, telegraph and government offices. Mission Boarding Schools especially for girls at Cairo (1866) and Assiut (1874) became as it were teacher training colleges. The Assiut Training College and the Theological Seminary deserve special attention (cf. below). One must not underestimate the scope of this work. These schools enrolled 15,000 scholars in 1899, only slightly less than all government schools. Protestants gained the highest literacy rate in the land. By 1900, 50% of the men and 20% of the women could read compared to the

national average of 10% and 1%. Muslims too were being reached. Of the 16,771 students in 1908, 3,644 were Protestants, 3,495 Muslims, and 8,547 Copts and others.<sup>1</sup>

Theological classes began at Cairo (1864) and Assiut (ca. 1867) under Lansing, Hogg, and A. Watson. Students moved with missionaries even to vacation centers and field assignments. Instruction included the rudiments of arithmetic and grammar as well as biblical and systematic theology. The advent of "Plymouthism" caused the Church to realize the need of a permanent seminary and a full curriculum. The Theological Seminary at Cairo now concentrated on a training course which included Islamics and apologetic. By 1896, the Seminary listed 26 graduates in the ministry and 23 licentiates.<sup>2</sup>

This same desire to train intelligent and dedicated Christian workers prompted the formation of the "Assiut Training College". John Hogg held that the most effective way to evangelize the whole country was to train an Egyptian Christian work force, thus multiplying the limited mission personnel and finances. He felt the Evangelical Church needed such a college to fulfill her mission in the land. His determination was voiced in five fiery articles in the home-church periodical calling for college facilities, means and workers so that the "legitimate results" of missionary labor could be harvested. In the heart-land of the indigenous church, the number of evangelical students seeking advanced training increased fourfold in two years, soon climbing to enrollments of 400, then 600. Hogg presented a detailed resolution to the Mission (1874) speaking to the question;

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<sup>1</sup>C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, pp. 183ff and A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 443ff. For more recent studies cf. W. S. Rycroft and M. M. Clemmer, A Factual Study of the Middle East (United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., New York, 1962); Addison, Christian Approach, pp. 156ff; Educational Conference at Assiut, 1937 (Papers of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, n.p., 1937); J. Heyworth-Dunne, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt (London, 1938); and R. C. Sloan, Recent Educational Advances in Egypt (Washington D.C., 1946).

<sup>2</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 458ff.

"What will prove the most speedy and effective means of creating in this country a native evangelistic force adequate to the task of bringing the Gospel within the reach of every inhabitant?"<sup>1</sup> This then was to be no ordinary College.<sup>2</sup> It would seek to solve the dilemma in which the Presbyterians in Syria found themselves (an "independent" soon secular College and a haphazard theological program). Here was to be a College in, of, and for the Church. And to an amazing degree this was achieved. Its graduates sent teachers, ministers, and skilled laymen of marked Christian spirit into most spheres of the nation's life. John R. Mott could declare:

"After visiting nearly all the missionary colleges and schools of importance in the non-Christian world, and studying their work and opportunities, I have no hesitation in saying that the Assiut Training College, of Egypt, is one of the most strategic in the world. In fact, I know of no other college which has yielded larger practical results for the amount of money expended than this particular institution."<sup>3</sup>

These schools under Presbyterian Mission or Church auspices continued to make a tremendous contribution to the cause of Christ in the land of the Pharaohs.<sup>4</sup>

Presbyterian medical work began with the arrival of D. R. Johnston (1868) who reached many Muslims as well as Copts about Assiut. The well-equipped Hospitals and Training Centers there and at Tanta were reaching over 35,000 patients

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<sup>1</sup>Hogg, Master-Builder, pp. 197ff.

<sup>2</sup>Hogg had turned down appealing offers from the Beirut College, an Australian college, and sacrificed family life and finances to build this distinctive school. Cf. Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>3</sup>C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup>In contrast, the American University at Cairo, like its sister institutions in Beirut and Istanbul, soon drifted out of the sphere of Christian concern. Lacking Christian norms and Church controls, its faculty became more involved in educational technique and public service projects than with presenting the Christian faith. Its first President, Charles R. Watson, son of Andrew Watson and for a time secretary of the United Presbyterian Mission Board was certainly not lacking in dedication or hope for this school. Cf. C. R. Watson, What is this Moslem World (London, 1937), pp. 163f. But an example of how the faculty soon became preoccupied with other things is evident in Harris Erdman's New Learning in Old Egypt, (New York, 1932).



annually before 1914.<sup>1</sup> This provided another direct contact with Muslims. Coupled with the Egypt General Mission Hospital at Shebin and the C.M.S. hospitals at Menouf and Old Cairo, they provided a channel for conveying the spirit of Christ and a model for the nation's public health-social welfare program.

#### Increased Work Among Muslims, 1880-1912

From its origin, the Mission set out to evangelize Muslims but this was no simple task for missionaries or Evangelical Egyptians. The greatest need at first was to prepare a climate of religious liberty which at least made conversion to Christianity a "live" option. Slowly scattered converts came forth such as Ibrahim Moosa of Faiyum (1868); Saeed Abdullah, a Sudanese convert who remained a faithful member at Alexandria til his death in 1871; and Ahmed Fahmi, the scholar-teacher of Cairo whose conversion (1877) became a test case. Ahmed later fled to Edinburgh where he studied medicine before rendering distinguished service as a medical missionary in Amoy, China.<sup>2</sup> This in itself symbolizes the hostility a convert faced. Even the missionaries were at pains as how to approach Muslims. Lansing's encounters with Muftis, Sheikhs and Qadis in Upper Egypt indicate he used a controversial or socratic method which at best questioned rather than communicated.<sup>3</sup> By 1880, Hogg was giving much attention to Muslim evangelization in his theological classes and prepared a booklet under the title, "Neither is there salvation in any other". He contended that the answer to Islam must be demonstrated in the Church's life. In a pastoral letter he wrote:

"The work for which the Church exists is that for which the Son of God became incarnate. 'As Thou has sent me into the world so have I sent them into the world.' Christ's work was not completed by his incarnation, but

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<sup>1</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 243, 300, 394 and C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, pp. 305-311.

<sup>3</sup>Lansing, Egypt's Princes, pp. 275ff.

was only then begun. Your work is not completed when you take to yourselves a bodily form as an organised congregation, it is only begun...."<sup>1</sup>

In another letter he wrote that it was not so much the number as the nature of the churches that would determine success or failure of the Mission to Muslims and others. He vocally urged the Evangelical Church to activate itself in reaching out to its Muslim neighbors and silently prayed for a baptism of the Spirit upon the Church.

About 1881-1882, something of a movement among Muslims took place. Arabi Pasha's Rebellion, its sensational propaganda, and its utter defeat at Tel-al-Kabir shattered any illusion of Muslim invincibility. This led to numerous inquiries by those disgusted with Islam. Up to 1881, the American Mission had baptized about twenty-six Muslim converts. In the next two years, twenty-two more professed their faith. The increase of Muslim students in Mission schools was most noticeable. At Ekhmim, a score of Muslims attended the village church regularly. Hogg wrote:

"If Egypt is given religious liberty worthy of the name our success amongst Mohammedans will soon surpass that amongst Copts."<sup>2</sup>

That "if" was never quite fulfilled. British administrators were trying to satisfy all parties and ended up by patronizing the old political structure rather than initiating reform and a foundation for a democratic government. This indefiniteness frequently made it more difficult for converts under the British than under the Khedives. Nevertheless, the American Mission had baptized nearly 100 converts from Islam by 1895.<sup>3</sup> The Mission set out to make good its declaration that it came to serve the entire nation by establishing new work among Muslims in the Delta with stations at Tanta (1893), Benha (1894), Zagazig (1894) and along

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<sup>1</sup>Hogg, Master-BUILDER, pp. 236ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>3</sup>A. Watson, American Mission, p. 360. (London, 1893) pp. 19, 230ff.

the Red Sea. Mission Schools, by the turn of the century, enrolled roughly one-fifth Muslims. Other experimental and ecumenical efforts were soon to begin.

By far, the major project was to create a sense of "mission to Muslims" within the Evangelical Church. John Hogg had warned that this must be accomplished or that young Church would do no more for Muslims than did the Coptic Church over the centuries.<sup>1</sup> Again in 1908, C. R. Watson pointed to the enduring problem:

"There is also danger lest prejudice against Islam and against converts from Islam, should hinder this Church from exercising her widest influence among Moslems....Against this, missionaries and Church leaders must set their faces as flint, or the Evangelical Church will miss her true calling to become a National Church for Egypt."<sup>2</sup>

There were hopeful signs. A British observer, Robert Young in 1883, felt that the young Church was recognizing its true Scriptural function, "that it exists not simply or chiefly for its own edification, but as a witness to the truth" of Christ.<sup>3</sup> The Church joined the Mission in 1903 to request America to send 280 additional workers to help them reach the non-Christian masses of Egypt. By 1908, the Evangelical Church was sending workers and means to the Sudan field. Its simpler form of Evangelical worship was more commendable to Muslims than Coptic Orthodoxy and some were heard to remark, "If we become Christians, we will become Protestants". But by the twentieth century, the new factors of nationalism (at times both anti-foreign and anti-Christian), resurgent Islamic forces (e.g. the Muslim Brotherhood), and a broader Egyptian Renaissance added to the challenge. The first Conference of Missionaries held at Cairo in 1906 symbolized something of a fresh beginning. The "call" extended to Samuel Zwemer by the United Presbyterian Mission would bring to this intellectual capital of Islam -- a leader in Muslim work (1912). He and W. H. T. Gairdner would help usher in a new era. The

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<sup>1</sup>Hogg, Master-BUILDER, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup>C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup>R. Young, Light in Lands of Darkness (London, 1883) pp. 19, 255ff.



development of the Cairo School of Oriental Studies, the Nile Mission Press, the Inter-Mission Council (1920), the Near East Christian Council, the Fellowship of Unity (founded by Bishop Gwynne, 1921), and numerous conferences provided stepping-stones for advance. The Evangelical Church and the United Presbyterian Mission were partners in one of the most difficult situations-in a land knowing the ills of poverty, disease and ignorance. As they faced the massed Muslim millions of Egypt in the year 1910, they could but humbly confess that the task of Christ was unfinished. Herein lay the ever fresh call to mission.

#### An Era of Cooperation: "Mediterranean Mission", 1815-1840

Political events and Jewish Missions attracted attention to the Near East. Britain had largely by-passed the Near East in her expansion to India, but Napoleon's action incited interest once again. Following Waterloo (1815), Englishmen were free again to enter the Eastern Mediterranean. This coincided with a growing religious interest in the Holy Land and its peoples. The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (London Jews Society, L.J.S.), venture, growing out of the L.M.S. (1809), became strictly Anglican by 1815. Joseph Wolff, a converted German Jew, aroused much fanfare for Mission Work in the Near East by his travels and published journals. L.J.S. work in Palestine under George Dalton, John Nicolson and others reported the need of an Anglican Church with episcopal authority which could serve as a base for reaching Jews and others. Malta, the stepping stone to the Levant, was soon reached by the L.M.S.

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<sup>1</sup>For example of, Joseph Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labours among Jews, Mohammedans, and other Sects... (London, 1815) and W. T. Olney, The Ministry of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, from 1809-1808 (London, 1908). Wolff had been baptized in the Church of Rome and trained at the College of the Propaganda Fide. Arriving in England (1819), he joined the Church of England and studied theology under Charles Simeon and Arabic under Samuel Lee at Cambridge before his wide travels in the Near East with the L.J.S.

ANGLICANS IN THE NEAR EAST: VARYING RELATIONS WITH ORTHODOX CHURCHES  
AND EMERGING MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

The various objectives and their priority among Anglicans in the Near East have already been briefly noted. More detailed examination will now be made of the chronological development of Anglican Missions under the headings: The Era of Cooperation (1815-1840); The Era of Tensions (1841-ca. 1890); and the Era of Consolidation (ca. 1890 to 1910). Following that, special attention will be given to Anglican effort in Constantinople, Persia and Egypt.

An Era of Cooperation: "Mediterranean Mission", 1815-1840

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<sup>1</sup>For example cf. Joseph Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labours among Jews, Mohammedans, and other Sects... (London, 1835) and W. T. Gidney, The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, from 1809-1908 (London, 1908). Wolff had been baptized in the Church of Rome and trained at the College of the Propaganda Fide. Arriving in England (1819), he joined the Church of England and studied theology under Charles Simeon and Arabic under Samuel Lee at Cambridge before his wide travels in the Near East with the L.J.S.

(1809), C.M.S. (1815) and the Bible Society (1817) in this wave of interest.

About 1812, C.M.S. decided to extend its efforts to Christians and Muslims in this area due to a "Call" from Malta.<sup>1</sup> Since C.M.S. was founded "to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen", it was debated whether it was legitimate to enter lands inhabited by ancient Christians. It was decided however that world mission included "assisting in the recovery from their long sleep of the ancient Syrian and Greek Churches".<sup>2</sup> William Jowett, the first C.M.S. missionary with a university diploma, set out for Malta (1815) to collect information on the state of religion and the best methods for spreading Christian knowledge in the Eastern Mediterranean. While concerned mainly for the winning of non-Christians, C.M.S. contended that renewed Eastern Churches could aid in this work:

"As these Churches shall reflect the clear light of the Gospel on Mohammedans and Heathens around, they will doubtless become efficient instruments of rescuing them from delusion and death...."<sup>3</sup>

Jowett was cautioned to deal with the Churches in a conciliatory spirit and not to proselytize. The tours or "researches" of Jowett helped crystalize C.M.S. policy. As he traveled through Egypt, Syria, Turkey and the Greek Islands, Eastern Patriarchs and clergy gave him warm welcome, gladly supported the idea of new editions of the Bible and appeared apprehensive only that Ottoman authorities might curtail their religious liberty even more. When however Jowett returned to England (1820), he intimated in the C.M.S. Annual Sermon that the Eastern Churches were not yet qualified to be evangelists to the Muslim world.

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<sup>1</sup>When the Congregation De Propaganda Fide had to cut back its efforts, Dr. Cleardo Naudi, a Roman Catholic of Malta appreciative of Protestant thought and Scripture work, invited C.M.S. to come. In a letter to Pratt (June, 1811), he says: "It now devolves upon you to enter on this labour of propagating the Christian Faith among Infidels and of confirming it among the Ignorant." Stock, History of the C.M.S., I, 222f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, 121

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 224ff.



In Christian Researches...1815 to 1820, Jowett notes that Eastern clergy and laity were afflicted with superstition and ignorance and suggests education as an avenue of evangelism. This could begin with Eastern Christians (permitted under Turkish law) and gradually move into Muslim circles. Two important requirements would be to secure religious liberty under the Ottomans for missionaries and converts and for the establishment of some ecclesiastical authority.<sup>1</sup> In Christian Researches...1823 and 1824, Jowett surveys Syria and Palestine. While speaking relatively well of the Jews, he notes that Christians in the East are dominated by "darkness and discord" and "erring human nature". European businessmen and diplomats are "nominal". He reports cordial relations with Fisk and other American missionaries and that "Arabic Schools" as used by Rome provide one of the best means to stimulate a pure form of Christianity which Muslims will respect.<sup>2</sup> He warns that the Mission should not seek to win Eastern Christians to the English nation or Anglican communion:

"How studiously should missionaries aim at impressing on the minds of all around them, that they come, not to make a party, but solely to promote the good of those among whom they exercise their office."<sup>3</sup>

C.M.S. policy was that of "cooperation" with Eastern Churches for their revival and the ultimate winning of the "heathen". There was to be no formation of Anglican congregations in this period (1815-1840). Jowett set up the C.M.S. Arabic Press in Malta (1825). With the help of a Lebanese Faris, an Arab Greek Orthodox Priest, and later the Germans, C. Schlienzt and S. Gobat, Scriptures and tracts

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<sup>1</sup>William Jowett, Christian Researches in the Mediterrean from 1815 to 1820 in Furtherance of the Objects of the C.M.S. (London, 1822), passim.

<sup>2</sup>William Jowett, Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824 in Furtherance of the Objects of the C.M.S. (London, 1825), pp. 24ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 382. These documents disclose that Tibawi's charges that C.M.S. set out to divide the Eastern Churches by "proselytism" are unfounded. Cf. A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1901, A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise (Oxford, 1961).

were translated and published in Maltese, Italian, Modern Greek, Arabic and Abyssinian. Limited evangelistic-educational work stretched to Egypt (1826), Abyssinia (1829), Smyrna and Syra (1830), in addition to the Protestant College in Malta. Much of the work was done by German and Swiss missionaries trained at Basel. Limited personnel and political instability permitted little visible success for this policy of "cooperation" (1815-1840).

#### An Era of Tensions, 1841-ca. 1890

The establishment of the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric (1841) was an attempt to cope with the thorny ecclesiastical and political problems. This is apparent when you consider that there was a "Bishop" before there was a Church membership! It was the Episcopal answer to the Near Eastern dilemma. Yet it is questionable if this really cut through the webs of British Church-State, Ottoman-Eastern Church relationships.

Taking advantage of the unrest created by Mohammad Ali's aggressive moves against Turkey, Britain secured a firman to establish a British Consulate in Jerusalem (1838). Some argued that this would help stabilize local government and hence aid Christian work, biblical explorations of Palestine, and British commerce. Consul Young who had been instructed to assist the Jews in Palestine backed the case for an Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> This need was highlighted when L.J.S. desired to erect "Christ Church" but found Muslim authorities prohibited constructing new churches and barred foreigners from purchasing property. When the Porte refused a permit, Nicolayson bought the site through an intermediary and laid the foundations (1839). The authorities halted construction, frustrating it until 1849, thus forcing Protestants to clarify their course of action.

King Frederick William IV of Prussia, the Earl of Shaftsbury and others

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<sup>1</sup>Tibawi, British Interests, pp. 31-37.

now formulated the concept of a united undenominational Protestant Church in Jerusalem. The proposed Anglo-Prussian Bishopric, while opposed by Tractarians, Newman, Pusey and Keble, was accepted by British authorities. Literally an "Anglican Bishopric" approved by the Porte and Archbishop of Canterbury, it permitted all desiring (e.g. Germans, etc.) to come under the Bishop. While the King of Prussia had right to name alternate Bishops, the Archbishop retained the sole right of veto. A few details reveal how "entangling" was this scheme. The first Bishop, Michael Solomon Alexander (1841-1845), a convert from Judaism and professor of Hebrew at King's College (London), was given an "official" ship of the Royal Navy to convey him to the Holy Land. Arriving there, he found himself Bishop of a handful of Jewish converts, unrecognized by the local authorities, and unprotected by the Government that had appointed him.<sup>1</sup> Soon he was in conflict with Consul Young, attacked by High Church leaders (as an "experimental" failure), the subject of debate in British Parliament (1843), frustrated by Turkish and local authorities, and lacking even proper residence and Church structure. Exasperated, he sought the help of diplomats Rose (Beirut) and Canning (Constantinople) threatening to "go and rouse England" (1843). He continued to face the cold neutrality of Eastern Churches fearing "proselytism" and Lutheran and Anglican clergy and groups guarding their independence from his episcopal control. All these bewildering barriers must have contributed to his early death at forty-five (d. 1845). The only active mission program in these years was among the Jews. Christ Church gradually gained about 60 members (30 converts from Judaism, rest Europeans). But this could hardly be considered an impact on the Near East.

The first real Anglican impact on the Near Eastern scene came under Samuel Gobat, second Bishop of Jerusalem (1846-1879), and the reorganized C.M.S. Mission to Palestine (1851- ). Swiss-born, Basel-trained, C.M.S. missionary Gobat, while

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 57.



a controversial figure for Anglo-Catholics, was a most dynamic, ecumenical bishop intent on "mission" to all peoples of the land.<sup>1</sup> Gobat's strategy was to carry on an expanding literature and educational program until an "Evangelical Church" would spring forth on its own accord. The land had already been "seeded" with thousands of Bibles by American workers and the demand for the Word was growing. Allowing the L.J.S. under the capable leadership of Nicholayson (d. 1856) to carry on the work among the Jews, Gobat set out to stimulate and if possible win the Arabic speaking peoples of the land. His goal was the revival of Eastern Christians and the conversion of all non-Christians.

Gobat tackled the ecclesiastical issues with a bold determination that gained the anger of some and the appreciation of others. His policy towards the Orthodox Churches was one of "Qualified Cooperation". He aimed to stimulate reform within these churches and not to proselytize, but when these bodies expelled evangelical members, he was not one to sit back simply to maintain peaceful church-to-church relations. Evangelical Churches must be formed to sustain this revived form of Arab Christianity. He sent forth "Bible Readers" who read the Gospel to any who would listen, creating a desire among the common people for the Bible and for education. Schools were started at Nablus, Nazareth, Jaffa, Ramleh, Bethlehem, Ramallah, etc. which created strong "nuclei" of evangelical belief within Eastern communions. These schools, he felt should present:

"the positive, historical, doctrinal, and moral truths of the Word of God, proceeding from a living conviction on the part of the teacher and interwoven

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<sup>1</sup>Gobat (who studied Arabic and the Quran in Paris and under Lee at Islington College) felt drawn to the Muslim world. While appreciative of Anglican liturgy and government, his evangelical outlook and frankness earned him the attack of those of Tractarian sympathies. Even his indefatigable venture in Abyssinia (cf. S. Gobat, Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia, London, 1834) was criticized by such as admired by Evangelicals. After serving in Palestine (e.g. the Druzes of Lebanon) and Malta, he received priest's orders in the Church of England (1845) and then appointment as Bishop. Cf. Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem, His Life and Work. A Biographical Sketch Drawn Chiefly from His own Journals (London, 1884). The portion up to 1846 is largely autobiographical and the remainder, biographical.

as much as possible with other branches of education....Religion ought to be the salt of education."<sup>1</sup>

By 1848, Gobat faced the "thorniest" problem of his life. Evangelicals were pleading to be admitted to the Anglican Church. He urged them to remain within their own traditions until the Greek Patriarch began excommunicating them for their Protestant leanings (1850). Then conferring with Archbishop Sumner and Baron Bunsen (Nov. 1850), he established a new policy which was expressed in a letter to King Frederick:

"...what am I to do? I have never wished to make converts from the old Churches, but only to lead to the Lord and to the Knowledge of His truth as many as possible. From henceforth, however, I shall be obliged to receive into our communion such as are excluded for Bible-truth's sake from other churches; and I trust that in doing so, even though men should blame me for it, the Lord will grant His blessing upon the proceeding...."<sup>2</sup>

The King would later reply:

"I trust that you will not allow your courage to sink, Your idea of building up small national Churches out of those communions, in place of compelling the awakened Greeks, Syrians, Copts, etc. to become Anglican, Lutheran, or Swiss-Reformed, is a glorigous, heaven-inspired, and truly Catholic one. You must not let it go."<sup>3</sup>

While Gobat remained very cautious about whom he admitted, even turning some away, his new "qualified" relation with the Orthodox Churches was offensive to the High Church Party.<sup>4</sup> Gobat's aggressive missionary approach to Jews, Muslims and others also offended certain British diplomats who offered humanitarian schemes for raising the standard of Jewish life but preferred to maintain a "status quo" which virtually ruled out "conversion".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gobat...Life and Work, pp. 236f. Also see his Circular Letter of 1847 describing the Readers, fledgling schools, and conversions from Judaism. pp. 239ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 263ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 271ff.

<sup>4</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., II, 145ff.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. James Graham, Jerusalem, Its Missions, Schools, Convents...under Bishop Gobat (London, 1858). The humanitarian schemes of Consul Finn brought him into open clash with Gobat, cf. James Finn, Stirring Times, or Records from Jerusalem (London, 1878). The evangelical concept of mission and conversion was offensive to many in the British State and Church and Gobat became a "pet" subject

(1850). The formation of the C.M.S. Palestine Mission (1851), in answer to Gobat's appeal (1849), greatly strengthened the Anglican arm in the Near East.<sup>1</sup> Henceforth C.M.S. under Henry Venn would back Gobat's policy of evangelizing Muslims even if this meant drawing some Eastern Christians into Evangelical Churches:

"It has appeared to the Society to be a legitimate and Christian object to endeavour to raise these lapsed Churches, by circulating amongst them the Word of God and Scriptural truth, and promoting the education of their children ... [this] has an important bearing upon the conversion of the Heathen....The Mohammedan population, comprising throughout the world a hundred millions of people, present everywhere the greatest obstacles to the advance of Christianity amongst the Heathen, and are themselves the most manifest objects of missionary labours....There is no country so favourable for presenting Christian truth to the Turks as those provinces of their empire in which the Arabic language is spoken, and no locality so advantageous as Syria and Jerusalem."<sup>2</sup>

Increased mission personnel and work resulted in the formation of Anglican congregations composed of those drawn from Orthodox, Jewish, Samaritan and Muslim backgrounds at Nazareth, Salt and Nabulus and outbreaks of Greek Orthodox opposition in each of these towns (1851-53).<sup>3</sup> The first converts from Islam, e.g. Muhammad Amin Al-Qasim of Nabulus,<sup>4</sup> the new position of Protestants according to the Firmans

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for attack. Even Tibawi seems enslaved to the "Ottoman mentality" that any transference of persons from one religious community to another is evil and that social-religious ferment is a threat to empire or nation. His failure to appreciate religious freedom within a pluralistic society seriously handicaps his evaluation of Gobat and C.M.S. Thus he is quick to label any activity as a form of imperialism. His judgment of Gobat fails to measure up with those of the Archbishop of Canterbury and such creditable historians as Richter and Latourette. Cf. British Interests in Palestine, pp. 90-121.

<sup>1</sup>C.M.S. had been reduced to three remnant stations at Syra, Smyrna and Cairo staffed by four German clergy (Hildner, Wolters, Kruse, Lieder) and a Polish layman (Charles Sandrecski). A tour by John Bowen and Sandrecski (1849-50) prompted C.M.S. to act.

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., II, 143f.

<sup>3</sup>Gobat...Life and Work, pp. 275-280. Matters were not helped when members of the High Church Party wrote a "Protest" against Gobat's proceedings, had it signed by a thousand Anglicans and sent to the Greek Patriarch. Then (1853), four Anglican Archbishops sent a counter "Declaration" supporting Gobat. Cf. Ibid., pp. 286-296.

<sup>4</sup>Tibawi, British Interests, pp. 108ff.



(1850), and increased Protestant mission activity following the Crimean War (1854-1857) brought forth a wave of Muslim hostility and violence. There were the threats to exterminate the Christians of Nabulus (1857) and the massacres in Syria (1860). In his Circular Letter (1860), Gobat writes:

"Of the working of the C.M.S. here there is not much to be told. Their chief object, that of converting the Mohammedans, is at present unattainable, as all Mohammedans are in a very excited state, and filled with fanatical hatred against the Christians."<sup>1</sup>

Gobat's firm hand and zeal won respect from many in the hard years from 1861 to 1871 when short finances and personnel, crop failures and Turkish taxation were felt by all. Bishop Gobat became a spiritual counselor and arbitrator acknowledged by Arab, Greek, and European. In addition to benevolent institutions (hospitals and orphanages), Gobat had 25 schools attended by 1,000 Jewish, Protestant, Orthodox, Samaritan and Muslim children, plus the Diocesan Boarding School at Jerusalem (1872). The Church also grew. English and Hebrew Christians worshipped at Christ Church. A German Congregation and pastor developed its own program (Church of the Redeemer, opened 1898). Some ninety Arab Protestants from Jerusalem-Bethlehem founded St. Paul's in Jerusalem. Other Arab Protestant Congregations formed at Nabulus, Nazareth, and Jaffa. The Arab Church-buildings of C.M.S. were not consecrated, hence free of episcopal control. Nevertheless Gobat enjoyed good relations with all these groups which he described as "our mixed but united community."<sup>2</sup>

Muslims gained increased attention. Whereas the "Mediterranean Mission" had restricted itself to reviving the Eastern Church and the L.J.S. to the Jews, the C.M.S. Palestine Mission gave prime attention to Muslims and other non-Christians. If this involved the reformation of Eastern Churches and the secession of some of

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<sup>1</sup>Gobat...Life and Work, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 116ff and Gobat...Life and Work, pp. 384ff.

their members to Evangelical Churches, then so be it, but C.M.S. definitely was not out to proselytize. One reading the C.M.S. Annual Reports from 1851 onwards, finds that the prefatory statements declare the prime aim is to "enlighten" and "evangelize" Muslims. Gobat left this imprinted upon those serving under him, e.g. J. T. Wolters (d. 1882), T. F. Wolters, R. H. Weakley, Christian Fallscheer, Johannes Zeller (d. 1902), A. F. Klein (discoverer of the Moabite Stone, d. 1903), etc. so that they never gave up their concern for Muslims. Although the results were limited to scattered individual conversions (who often had to flee for their lives), C.M.S. was not lacking in motivation. The Anglican Conference for Missions to Muslims (London, 1875) called by General Lake and attended by Bishop Gobat, Canon Tristram, Koelle, Zeller, T. F. Wolters, Bellamy, three workers from West Africa, Robert Bruce (Persia), Bishop French and Bateman (India) boosted this neglected work. It was agreed that Islam be tackled at its center in Palestine and the Arab countries. This prompted C.M.S. to re-enter Egypt (1882) and to strengthen its Palestine program. By 1880-81, Tristram could report:

"Our work in Palestine is a real and vast one. I have visited thirty-five stations and outstations; and I say without hesitation that the C.M.S. is saturating the villages with Gospel knowledge; and the result, under God's blessing, must one day be vast."<sup>1</sup>

For all its weaknesses, the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric as recognized by the Porte and at times supported by British diplomats, provided a workable approach to the political hurdles of the nineteenth century. Likewise it provided a regularized means for dealing with the Orthodox Churches on a church-to-church basis without minimizing evangelical convictions. As long as this official seat was occupied by one such as Gobat who would welcome and cooperate with C.M.S. workers, progress could be made towards the evangelization of Muslims and others despite the tensions. But this was not long to be. New conflicts, then consolidation were in sight.

High-Low Church and Anglican-Lutheran tensions (1879-1887) began to

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<sup>1</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 121.

dominate the scene and caused great damage to Anglican efforts among Muslims. Raging High-Low Church battles hurt the finances of the Mission Societies. They made it almost impossible to find a successor to Gobat (d. 1879). Once Joseph Barclay was appointed Bishop, he found himself helpless to control L.J.S. or C.M.S. or to keep the German, Arab and English-Hebrew congregations from going their separate ways.<sup>1</sup> His death (d. 1881) left a vacancy impossible to fill. Germans were neither willing to submit to the Archbishop of Canterbury's veto nor to the re-ordination of Luthern clergy into Anglican orders. While Anglican Evangelicals supported the Bishopric, High Churchmen wanted it abolished. Archbishop Benson in correspondence with the Germans finally gained the latter's word to dissolve this arrangement (1886-87).<sup>2</sup> It was the end of an era.

#### An Era of Consolidation, ca. 1890-1910

Archbishop Benson sought to establish a new basis for the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem. Bowing to High Church pressure, he corresponded with the Greek Orthodox Patriarch who ruled that this office should no longer be called "Bishop of Jerusalem". The Bishop was to become somewhat the "ambassador" of the Church of England to the Orthodox Churches, hence dependent on their favor. This meant a discontinuation of receiving Orthodox members into the Anglican Church (unless mutually acceptable to both ecclesiastical heads). Second, the Bishop was to have episcopal control primarily over the English Congregation and School. When he would later try to extend this control and "church order" to the L.J.S. and C.M.S. and their congregations, there were severe repercussions. Third, the Bishop would "guide" the evangelization of the Jews, Muslims and other non-Christians of the land. When this led to a clash with the mission societies, he would form his own

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Anon, Joseph Barclay, D.D., LL.D., Third Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem. A Missionary Biography (London, 1883) and W. H. Hechler, The Jerusalem Bishopric (London, 1883).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Correspondence Respecting the Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem (Printed and Presented to both Houses of Parliament, London, July, 1887).



"Mission" centering about St. George's Cathedral. All told it was hardly an improvement.

This unenviable chair was given to George Francis Popham Blyth who served as bishop from 1887 to 1914. Blyth, considered a "moderate", soon appeared to swing to a High Church position.<sup>1</sup> Hostility between the Bishop and C.M.S. workers soon reached a high pitch. Blyth then proceeded to publish several Charges against the C.M.S. (i.e., purposeful proselytism among Oriental Churches, failing to submit to his jurisdiction, etc.) and C.M.S. replied.<sup>2</sup> Sensational newspaper articles did not help this tense relationship. In a "trial" of the two parties by Archbishop Benson and four Bishops (1891), Blyth was advised that he did not have direct jurisdiction over the missionary conference; that he should not refuse to confirm those baptized in Eastern Churches who "intelligently and conscientiously" sought membership in the Anglican Church; and that C.M.S. was cleared of the charge of "aggressive proselytism". It was, however, not the end of the feuding pamphlet war. There can be little doubt that this drained away energy which could well have been turned to Muslims. Only after each agreed to go their separate ways, did the Bishop and C.M.S. consolidate their gains.

Bishop Blyth's achievements include the erection of St. George's Cathedral and training center in Jerusalem and a similar complex at Haifa; increased English work among merchants and troops in the Near East; and the start of conversations with the Ancient Churches of the East. He hoped to bring enlightenment to Eastern

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<sup>1</sup>E.g. favoring close relations with Orthodox clergy, vestments and such liturgical practices as the eastward position, altar lights, a mixed chalice, ablutions, the necessity of morning communions, cf. Stock, History of C.M.S., III, 527.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. G.F.P. Blyth, The Primary Charge (London, 1890) and submitted to the Guardian (Dec. 1890); G. F. P. Blyth, Facts and Correspondence (Canterbury, 1891); Reply of the C.M.S. to the Charges made by the Right Rev. George F. P. Blyth, D.D., Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East, 1891 (marked confidential); G.F.P. Blyth, The Second Charge (London, 1893); and G.F.P. Blyth, The Third Triennial Charge (London, 1896). The account of this ongoing duel is covered by Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 523ff and Tibawi, British Interests, pp. 257ff.

Churches without internal rupture and to enlighten, possibly convert, those non-Christians who attended his schools.<sup>1</sup>

Mission work under the C.M.S. also was advanced. Aided by the voice of General Haig, interest in missions to Muslim Arabs grew. Something of an Evangelical Anglican approach to Muslims began to appear -- a combination of scholarship, seeking to understand Islam, and an open declaration of the Gospel among Muslims.<sup>2</sup> By 1910, Julius Richter could write.

"The Church Missionary Society is the foremost society in Palestine in mission work among Muhammadans, both in the extent of the work and the thoroughness of its organization."<sup>3</sup>

C.M.S. sustained its program only by costly effort. It took 58 new recruits in fifteen years (1899-1914) to maintain the staff at the same level.<sup>4</sup> Yet it expanded its work wherever the political situation permitted with the greatest gains achieved in educational work. In 1880 it had 31 schools with 1,762 students, and by 1910, the respective figures were 54 and 3,000.<sup>5</sup> This continued in spite of a rival and commendable school system backed by the Russian Orthodox.<sup>6</sup> The British-Syrian

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. Danby, Studies in Eastern Church History: Relations between Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches (Jerusalem, 1922) and Why 'Christian' Schools? (Jerusalem, 1936); and the Annual Reports and publication, Bible Lands, of the "Jerusalem and the East Mission" (1889-).

<sup>2</sup>Some Anglicans rejected the idea of conventional missions to Muslims. Canon Isaac Taylor read a paper on "Islam" at the Wolverhampton Church Congress (1887) which caused a stir. His view was that Islam stood halfway between Judaism and Christianity and that it was best to help perfect Islam rather than to replace it. "We shall never convert the Moslems but we may possibly transform Islam into Christianity." Although his views were challenged for lack of substance, his opinion influenced many of those who saw Christianity as "truth", "ideals", and "ethics" rather than as a unique "revelation" of and "relationship" to God in Jesus Christ.

<sup>3</sup>Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 253.

<sup>4</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 517ff and IV, 124-28. By 1914 there were 6 ordained and 7 lay men, 10 wives and 29 other women. Notice that this means women outnumbered men 3 to 1.

<sup>5</sup>Tibawi, British Interests, p. 165 and Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 252f.

<sup>6</sup>Tibawi, British Interests, pp. 176f and Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 36.

Schools founded by Mrs. James Bowen-Thompson were also in close cooperation with the C.M.S. program.<sup>1</sup> Only by pious doggedness did these schools, often under women teachers, hold out against Turkish "interference". They survived, however, to win wide respect and to send numerous future leaders through their Teachers' College (at Kefr Yasif), the Bishop Gobat School and the English College in Jerusalem.

Anglican women workers began to pour into the Near East after 1882 to staff Girls' Schools, hospitals, orphanages, and home visitation schemes. About that same time, medical work increased with dispensaries and hospitals being erected at Salt, Gaza, Nabulus, Jaffa and throughout the Levant under Dr. Ibrahim Zurub, Rev. Sterling, M.D., and others.<sup>2</sup> C.M.S. workers cooperated with the fine programs of medicine and Christian service rendered by Father Spittler's group, Pastor Ludwig Schneller, the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses, and the Scots at Tiberias and Nazareth.<sup>3</sup> These service programs gave many Muslims their first contact with Protestant Christianity. In 1905, T. F. Wolters reported:

"It is true that the medical missionaries are breaking down the fence of social separation between Muhammedans and Christians and that medical men and nurses have precious opportunities of pressing the claims of Christ upon Moslems of all classes....But all this is as yet strictly confined to medical work....Whether the 'day of visitation' for the Moslem has come or not the hard fact...is that the Moslem is still very far from being accessible to direct effort, except when he is under medical care."<sup>4</sup>

The Anglican Church in Palestine doubled in size between 1879 and 1910 to

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Mrs. James Bowen-Thompson, The Daughters of Syria (2nd ed. edited by H. B. Tristram, London, 1872).

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S. IV, 126ff.

<sup>3</sup>Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 256ff. Also of interest are Ludwig Schneller, Vater Schneller, Ein Patriarch der Evangelischen Mission im Heiligen Lands (Leipzig, 1898); W. P. Livingstone, A Galilee Doctor. Being a Sketch of the Career of Dr. D. W. Torrance of Tiberias (New York, n.d.); and F. J. Scrimgeour, Nazareth of Today (London, 1913).

<sup>4</sup>Richter, Missions in the N.E., pp. 253f.



reach a total of 2,323 members.<sup>1</sup> The majority of these came from Greek background, but a good many were Hebrew Christians and former Muslims (the records discreetly omit names and statistics for the latter often had to flee to British-supervised Egypt to avoid prison or death). Relationships between the Bishop, missionaries and congregations fortunately improved from 1900 to 1914. As in North India, a Native Church Council arose (1905), but there were still signs that native pastors longed for more independence.<sup>2</sup> With the first C.M.S. Conference at Hebron (1894), Anglicans found new strength for their labors through broader fellowship and growing inter-mission cooperation. Palestine remained locked in something of a religious-political stalemate which called for sacrificial faithfulness. C. T. Wilson expressed it this way:

"As to the work among the Muhammedans, it would seem as if the day of grace were about to break....There is, therefore, no lack of blessing or encouragement. But the red of dawn must not be mistaken for the full light of day. Our experience can again point to the fact that before the day can come, many social and political limitations have to be removed which hinder Moslems from making an open confession of faith. How and when this will come to pass, no one can say...we are waiting patiently until God reveals His purpose of grace."<sup>3</sup>

For the more radical action, achievements and preparations of Anglicans among Muslims, one must turn to the areas of Constantinople, Persia, and Egypt.

#### An Area of Disappointment: Constantinople, Turkey

Episcopal Missions in Turkey proper were to meet with keen disappointment. First, an outgoing "direct" effort to evangelize Muslims in the capital by C.M.S. workers met sharp reaction (1858-1877). C.M.S. had been working for many years in Greece and Turkey at such cities as Syra, Smyrna, Constantinople and touring Asia

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 253 and Stock, History of the C.M.S., IV, 126.

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 529ff and Tibawi, British Interests, pp. 242-246.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in Richter, Missions in the N.E., p. 254.

Minor and Morea intent upon reviving the Greek Orthodox Churches. With the Hatti Humayun (February 18, 1856) and prospects of equal religious rights for all Ottoman citizens, missionary optimism flourished. Launching a direct effort for Muslims, C.M.S. called two of her most experienced workers to Constantinople, Karl G. Pfander and S. W. Koelle; plus two Turkish scholars, R. H. Weakley and Philip O'Flaherty. Work began with a mixture of caution and bravo. There was no street preaching or obtrusive book hawking, but one tactical error was made: Balance of Truth was sold in the precincts of the Mosque of St. Sophia.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise Turkish Scriptures were distributed and discussed privately. Results were forthcoming. On Easter, 1862, C.M.S. baptized their first Turkish convert, an inquirer from Smyrna who had been twice arrested by the authorities, but liberated by the British Consul. By 1864, there was a wave of Muslim inquirers and converts. Hamlin (American Board) estimated<sup>that</sup> more than 50 Turkish men, women and children were baptized (1857-1877). S.P.G. work -- under C. G. Curtis and two Turkish converts trained in Canterbury, Rev. Mahmoud Effendi and Rev. E. (Effendi Selim) Williams -- also made progress. One one occasion, ten adults were baptized and prospects of a convert church seemed hopeful. Then Ottoman authorities, in typical form, struck with force that which they had left unchecked.<sup>3</sup> On July 17, 1864, the High Porte had twelve Turkish Christians seized and imprisoned, C.M.S. and S.P.G. assembly halls closed, the bibles and books of the Bible Society confiscated and several missionaries put out of their dwellings. Other Turkish converts disappeared. The Turkish government demonstrated that, irregardless of its firmans, conversions from Islam must not be permitted. It sent a memorandum to Sir Henry Bulwer (a

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. John Hartley, Researches in Greece and the Levant (London, 2nd ed., 1833). Hartley with affection for the hellenic people found Turkey "dismal and dark" and "exposed to the righteous vengeance of God".

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., II, 153ff.

<sup>3</sup>F. J. Bliss, Religions of Modern Syria, p. 315.

more compliant ambassador than Canning) stating that it would not tolerate any attempts to assail Islam, to proselyte Muslims, or to distribute controversial works. C.M.S. virtually closed down the station as Pfander went to England where he soon died, Weakley went to Smyrna, and Koelle hung on for ten years under close police scrutiny. In 1875, Koelle wrote:

"Proselyting efforts offend both the religious and the political susceptibilities of the Mussulmans....An European missionary could not visit in Muhammadan houses without rousing suspicion. No church for the public Christian service of Turks would have any chance of being authorized by the government. No missionary school for Muhammadan youths would be tolerated."<sup>1</sup>

This violent reaction revealed that Muslim authorities were not actually ready for "religious liberty" and that Pfander's approach was inadequate under Muslim rule. Successful communication of the Gospel and the response of faith by Muslims would require a different spirit on the part of both missionaries and Turkish rulers. Yet this experience shattered the myth that Muslims would not be attracted to the Messiah even if given freedom of choice.

Another disappointment in Turkey resulted from Anglican Contacts with Eastern Churches. These were generally prompted by High Churchmen who felt the C.M.S. was not giving adequate attention to episcopal and other principles they held dear. George Tomlinson visited Athens and Constantinople with Letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to the "Patriarchs and Bishops of the East" (1831). This resulted in sending George P. Badger, sympathetic to the Oxford movement and now under S.P.G., to Persia to produce a rival mission there. His visits and those of William F. Ainsworth drew the affection

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<sup>1</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 114. For fuller insights into this experience cf. Tibawi, British Interests, pp. 166f and Samuel Zwemer in M.W., 31 (1941), 221ff. Zwemer absolves Pfander of any blame for the Porte's actions which resulted in at least 47 converts and inquirers being condemned to the galleys.

Fuller discussion found in Shaw, Anglican Contacts, pp. 41ff, 245f; Joseph, Non-Christians and their Muslim Neighbors, rev. ed., Mission in the M.E., pp. 309ff; and J. A. Douglas, Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Churches (London, 1921).



of the Nestorian Patriarch away from the American Board.<sup>1</sup> This sporadic project was resumed for several years in 1876 when E. L. Cutts and his successor Wahl worked in Kurdistan. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York organized the "Assyrian Mission" (1886) for the aim of reforming the Nestorian Church from within. This sympathetic approach revived the Ancient Syrian tongue, produced some fine literature, and developed a system of schools.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, they settled at Urumia and directly competed with the American Board. Their work was virtually wiped out by the inroads of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1898. This Anglican approach was not unrelated to the High Church-Evangelical contest which ensued under Bishops Gobat and Blyth.<sup>3</sup>

The Protestant Episcopal Church, U.S.A. experienced a similar affair. Their "Mission to Constantinople" (1839-1850) under Horatio Southgate (1812-1894) accepted the Anglican High-Church outlook which engaged in conflict with Evangelical missionaries in the area, ostensibly in a defence of the Orthodox Churches. The failure of these ventures and the damage they caused to mission work drove home several hard lessons. First, while Episcopal Churches had elements akin to those in Eastern Churches, they were still of the Reformed Western wing of the Church Universal. They would need to settle their "issues" at home before they

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stock, History of the C.M.S., I, chapter 26; E. B. Pusey, Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 2nd ed., 1842); W. F. Ainsworth, Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia (2 vols., London, 1842) and Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks (London, 1844); and G. P. Badger, Nestorians and their Rituals (London, 1843).

<sup>2</sup>Literature coming from this period include E. L. Cutts, Christians under the Crescent in Asia (London, 1877); A. Riley, Narrative of a Visit to the Assyrian Christians in Kurdistan (London, 1884) and The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians (London, 1891); The Catholicos of the East and His People by A. F. Maclean and W. H. Browne; The Liturgy of the Apostles Adai and Mari by W. H. Browne; and Six Months in a Syrian Monastery by O. H. Parry.

<sup>3</sup>Fuller discussion found in Shaw, American Contacts, pp. 41ff, 94ff; Joseph, Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors, *passim*; Richter, Mission in the N.E., pp. 309ff; and J. A. Douglas, Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Churches (London, 1921).

could clarify their relation to the Orthodox Churches. Second, these events highlighted how desirable harmonious relations between Orthodox and Protestant Churches were. It was, in a degree, a step towards the ecumenical expression of a common life and mission, e.g. the World Council of Churches. Third, it provided impetus to Protestants to intensify the urgent study of Eastern Christianity, lest the same mistakes be repeated.<sup>1</sup> Thus in Turkey, Anglicans hit head-on the ecclesiastical and environmental factors which made missions to Muslims in the Near East so difficult.

#### An Era of Achievement: Persia, 1869/1875-1910

The significant Anglican effort in Persia was begun by Robert Bruce in 1869. On leave from the Punjab (1858-1868), Bruce spent a year at Julfa, the Armenian Quarter of Ispahan, to revise Martyn's Persian New Testament. By the time for his departure, some nine Persians asked for instruction in the Christian faith and baptism prompting his decision to stay on. By gifts from England, Germany and India, he was able to offer food, medicine and help during the famine of 1871-72. While laying foundations for a full program before the Mission was adopted by the C.M.S. (1875), Bruce had no illusion about the difficulty of the work. He wrote of his efforts:

"I am not yet reaping; I am not yet sowing;  
I can hardly be said to be plowing,  
but I am gathering the stones from the field."<sup>2</sup>

Bruce wisely set for himself modest goals: to continue his literary work, to establish personal relationships with Muslims, to enlighten the Armenian community by education, and to make no apologies when Armenians, Muslims or others sought admission to the Anglican Church. It was 1879 before C.M.S. sent out a second

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<sup>1</sup>For a most valuable study, cf. Shaw, American Contacts, pp. 157-163, et passim.

<sup>2</sup>Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 125.

missionary, the Rev. E. F. Hoernle, an Edinburgh medical man. By then, the Julfa Congregation had 150 members (56 communicants). Bishop French arrived in 1883 to confirm 67 Armenian Anglicans and to ordain Minatzakan George.<sup>1</sup>

The Persia Mission opened a second station at Baghdad (1882) hoping to reach Persian Muslim Pilgrims traveling to Shi'ah "holy places". It was a difficult field, sustained mainly by determined medical workers, e.g. Henry M. Sutton, A. H. Hume-Griffith, Stanley and Miss S. E. Hill.<sup>2</sup> Inquirers faced imprisonment for merely desiring Christian instruction. Other stations at Kerman (1897), Yezd (1898) and Shiraz (1899) drew patients and inquirers from even Afghanistan and Baluchistan.<sup>3</sup> The central station at Julfa gradually shifted to the city of Ispahan. The medical ministrations of Mary Bird, Emmeline Stuart, Donald Carr and others did much to attract Muslims. The strong leadership of Henry Carless, W. A. Rice, Edward C. Stuart (retired bishop of New Zealand), W. St. Clair-Tisdall and C. H. Stileman made this station the anchor of the Mission.

The breakthrough among Muslims came just before the end of the century. Scripture sales tripled from 1891 to 1896 as some mullahs publicly praised the Bible and recommended it be purchased and read. Although the Babi movement had been severely repressed, great numbers dissatisfied with Islam looked "towards" Christianity. Stileman's tour in the districts of Ispahan, Yezd and Kerman found a wide receptivity to the Gospel (1899). Sunday Services at Julfa found Muslims attending in such large numbers so as to overflow the gallery reserved for them. Local persecution made them cautious, however, until political and social reforms (1905-1914) -- e.g. the formation of a constitution (1906) and Parliament, the

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<sup>1</sup>C. H. Stileman, The Subjects of the Shah (London, 1902) pp. 61ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Birks, French, II, 224; Mrs. Isabella L. Bird Bishop, Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan (2 vols., London, 1891); and A. H. Hume-Griffith, Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia (London, 1909).

<sup>3</sup>E.g., cf. Napier Malcolm, Five Years in a Persian Town (New York, 1905).



settlement of Russian-British differences (1907), and public demonstrations for reform -- improved the atmosphere for mission work. After the disruption of World War I, the process of change in Iran would quicken once more.<sup>1</sup> While the Anglican Mission and Church was never as large as the Presbyterian, its staff by 1910 numbered 48 (6 ordained, 8 laymen, 11 wives, and 22 single women). A friendly spirit of cooperation prevailed between the two missions and churches.

The prime "methods" applied by the Anglicans might be described as "apologetic-evangelistic" and "medical-service". (Their schools never enrolled many more than one thousand, of which about one-half were Muslim or Parsi.) Literature work occupied a major position in the program. Bruce revised the Persian N.T., then prepared a simple catechism, a Bible history Nur-ol-Anvar (The Light of Lights), 3 vols., 1881-1886) and a Persian edition of the Prayer Book. Some suggested C.M.S. had a hand in the Persian version of Apology of Al Kindy (lithographed in India, 1888).

Increased distribution of the Scriptures by Persian workers showed promise. Benjamin Badal (1844-1919), a Nestorian converted under Perkins and trained for C.M.S. and the Bible Society by Bruce (1869-1872), became a dynamic colporteur and personal evangelist reaching to Baghdad and Basrah. Between 1883 and 1919, he travelled the length and breadth of Persia and even into Baluchistan and Bahrain enduring untold hardships to sell over 30,000 Bibles. His life and work reads like a modern version of the "Acts of the Apostles" and J. C. Wilson rightly calls him "a radiant witness".<sup>2</sup>

Equally interesting is the development of an Anglican "apologetic" to

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. C. H. Stileman, "Open Doors in Southern Persia," Intelligencer (1899), 498ff; Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 530; W. J. Thompson, "The Awakening of Persia," C.M. Review (March, 1920), 36-44; W. W. Cash, Persia, Old and New (London, 1929); A. Wilson, South West Persia (Oxford, 1941); and J. R. Richards, The Open Road in Persia (London, 1933).

<sup>2</sup>J. Christy Wilson, Christian Message to Islam, pp. 134-160.

Islam. William St. Clair Tisdall settled at Julfa (1892) to develop the Henry Martyn Press and to publish literature geared especially to win Muslims and nurture Christians. Tisdall benefited from the experience of Anglican apologists in India and developed an improved program on which W. H. T. Gairdner and others would build. His works deserve special examination.<sup>1</sup> This was only part of a quantity of tracts written, translated or supervised by Tisdall. By 1907, a catalogue by W. A. Rice of "Persian Literature for Muhammedans" listed 65 books and tracts in print. Rice himself prepared a handbook for missionaries to Muslims entitled, Crusaders of the Twentieth Century (1910). While this C.M.S. literature is somewhat handicapped by a mild controversial tone, it represents a tremendous advance in both scholarship and Christian spirit over most nineteenth century documents. It was an "apologetic" companion to be used to introduce and interpret the Gospel to Muslims.

Medical work proved to be one of the most successful means for combatting prejudice and superstition. Hospitals and dispensaries became centers for preaching, visitation, bible distribution and quiet discussion. Reports indicate that about one half of the converts were first influenced through medical work. Mary Bird (1859-1914), though not a qualified doctor, was the first to demonstrate the drawing power and influence of medical work. Reaching Julfa (1891), she was determined to reach the Muslim women of Persia. Offering the medicines and compassion she possessed, her fame soon spread beyond her capacity. Braving threats, she opened a clinic in Ispahan to dispense medicine, Gospel, prayer and hymn in equal measure. She so won the hearts of the Muslims and the wrath of jealous

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<sup>1</sup>Tisdall's works include: The Sources of Islam (Persian original, English epitome by Sir. Wm. Muir, Edinburgh, 1901); The Religion of the Crescent, or Islam: Its Strength, Its Weakness, Its Origin, Its Influence (James Long Lectures, 1891-92, London, 1895); India; Its History, Darkness and Dawn (London, 1901); and A Manual of the Leading Muhammadan Objections to Christianity (London, 1904). For a brief examination of the "apologetic" approach developed in the above, cf. Appendix D.

mullahs that the British Embassy was given notice (February, 1894) that missionaries were to be permitted to remain only if they "did not proselyte Moslems".

Secretary Tisdall replied: Christ, yet not destroy its identification, its links

"We came to Persia to obey our Lord's command to preach the Gospel to all, and we are bound to do our duty, while trying not to be unnecessarily aggravating."<sup>1</sup>

Mary Bird prepared the way for the instruction and baptism of the first Jewish woman (1893) and the first Muslim woman and her son (1895). Qualified doctors, nurses and hospitals went on to win the respect of the multitudes for the care rendered in Christ's name. The most effective "witness" continued to identify itself with the needs of the people.

"It is not impossible to work as a simple evangelist, but it needs certain qualifications and abilities. Generally speaking, the ordinary missionary must be prepared to use both hands and both feet, and to enter in whatever way seems most expedient into the life of the town."<sup>2</sup>

#### Achievements and the Anglican Church in Iran

Muslims, Parsis, Bahais, Jews and others responded positively to the C.M.S. presentation of the Gospel in Persia. Between 1900 and 1907, over 100 adult Muslims had the courage to face opposition and receive baptism. One must remember that although Persia was known for its openness, there was no law guaranteeing religious liberty or prohibiting the "death penalty for apostasy". Yet about one quarter of the church membership of 400 had converted from Islam (1910). The number of inquirers increased and in 1911 alone, C.M.S. baptized over 100 converts from Islam! This brought to the surface the problem faced in every land where Islam is attached to the whole scheme of life, "How to create a fully Christian life and community?" Converts could not be sent out like sheep into a hostile environment

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Clara C. Rice, Mary Bird, the Friend of the Persians (C.M.S. pamphlet, London, 1920), pp. 9f, and Mary Bird in Persia (London, 1916).

<sup>2</sup>Malcolm, Five Years in a Persian Town, p. 255.



nor should they be endangered by a social-economic dependency on the Mission.<sup>1</sup> A balanced emphasis was attempted which would instruct the Persian Church in the distinctive way of life in Christ, yet not destroy its identification, its links with the customs, dress, etc. of the land. The future was after all with the "life and witness" of this young community. The means to erect new church-buildings and to cultivate the groups of believers springing up independently out of their Iranian Muslim descent (e.g. Qalat near Shiraz) strengthened the work.<sup>2</sup> So did the strong links with the Presbyterian Church in northern Iran via cooperation in literature, evangelism and Inter-Church Conferences. Stileman was consecrated the first Anglican Bishop of Persia on July 26, 1912, but even more significant was the day when an Iranian convert from Islam, Hassan Dehqani-Tafti would fill that office and go forth to interpret the Gospel to his Muslim neighbors.<sup>3</sup>

#### An Area of Preparation: Egypt, 1882-1910

Anglican work in Egypt had ground to a halt with the departure of Lieder, last member of the "Mediterranean Mission" (1862). Bishop Gobat analyzed the Mission's failure thus:

"The missionaries seem to follow almost too strictly the plan on which the mission was begun twenty-four years ago -- to seek friendship of the clergy, especially of the high clergy of the Eastern Churches....But this system has failed, and I am convinced that it will ever fail with the several

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Addison, Christian Approach, pp. 299ff for a fine discussion of the "Care of the Convert".

<sup>2</sup>Cf. N. N. Hoare, Something New in Iran (London, 1937), pp. 40ff; W. W. Cash, "The Anglican Church in Persia," M.W., 20 (1930), 45-49 and "Church Building in Persia," Church Overseas, October, 1928, 330-336.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Hassan Dehqani-Tafti, Design of My World (World Christian Books, London, 1959), a fascinating brief autobiography of his pilgrimage to faith in Christ. After mission schools, he attended Cambridge for theology before becoming deacon (1949) and later bishop. He feels a unique "Call to Interpret" to Muslims "the Gospel of the Love of God" and applies such to man's concept and experience of God; sin, repentance and forgiveness; the problem of suffering and the cross of Christ; and the basis of conduct.

Eastern Churches, as well as with the Church of Rome. Individual conversion must be the aim, as it is the only means of promoting reformation."<sup>1</sup>

A fine independent work was carried on by Mary Louisa Whately, daughter of the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, who came to Egypt for her health in 1856. Grieved to find no school for Muslim girls, she gained the help of a Syrian matron, and Mansoor and Joseph Shakoor, Protestants trained under the American Mission in Syria. The Boys' School at times had 300 in attendance and the Girls' School about 200, including many Muslims. Distribution of Scriptures, home visitation, "coffee-house evangelism" and light medical work by these four workers made this a visionary venture. Miss Whately wrote:

"The school opened doors which might never have been opened for the gospel without it, for Egyptians are shy of receiving total strangers without some reason, and having their girls under our care was of course the best reason. That curtain which in Muhammedan families of the better class hangs before the entrances to the women's apartments is not so easily raised for foreign visitors as might be supposed; even ladies do not gain admission into many of them. We are let in, however at once,..."<sup>2</sup>

Before her death (1899), Miss Whately suggested that C.M.S. take charge of her work, but when no action was taken, it was transferred to the American Mission (1901).

Advocates of missions to Muslims agreed that it was a basic error to neglect Egypt, the religious-intellectual center of the Arab world. Al-Azhar mosque-university alone enrolled over ten thousand students. Since the completion of the Suez Canal, Egypt had become a commercial crossroads and the home of a budding Arab nationalism. British occupation (1882) and the death of General Gordon at Kartoum (1885) would also draw worldwide attention. These <sup>1</sup>cinched the re-establishment of a C.M.S. Mission to Egypt (1882) and the intensification of preparations in order to reach Muslims. F. A. Klein of Palestine arrived to make translations

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in R. Young, Light in Lands of Darkness, pp. 251f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 291. Also cf. C. R. Watson, In the Valley of the Nile, pp. 130ff; M. Whately, Ragged Life in Egypt (London, 1863) and More About Ragged Life in Egypt (London, 1870); and E. J. Whately, The Life and Work of Mary Louisa Whately (London, n.d.).

into Arabic, distribute literature and create personal contacts. F. J. Harpur made Old Cairo a base for an itinerating medical evangelism to the Sinaitic Peninsula, Hodeida, Suakim, the Delta and along the Nile.<sup>1</sup> Women missionaries established Girls' Schools at Old Cairo, Cairo and Helwan; a training course for Bible-Women; and a home visitation scheme. W. W. Cash and F. F. Adeney (Mission Secretary, 1893) initiated a limited evangelistic program, but very few Muslims were baptized before 1895. Many British missionaries and Coptic Christians were perturbed by the policies of British "rulers". It appeared to them that British "neutrality" was in actuality a catering to a Muslim majority. Their charges were not groundless: Copts were kept from high offices they once held; they were not allowed representation on provincial councils; they were taxed to support schools in which Islam was taught; as Friday was made the legal holiday, they were obliged to work on Sunday; missionaries found themselves restricted from the Sudan; and the Memorial Fund for Gordon College, given by many who expected the Christian ideals of Gordon to be observed, was used for a College in which the Bible was excluded and the Quran included. Many British administrators had little sympathy for either missions or the Christians of the land.<sup>2</sup>

With the arrival of Douglas Thornton<sup>n</sup> and William H. Temple Gairdner, C.M.S. launched into a specialized-intensified work among Muslims. W. W. Cash, Rennie MacInnes (Mission Secretary, 1903; Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, 1914), R. F. McNeile and others helped in this vital work.<sup>3</sup> The vigor, initiative, and open-heartedness of Thornton was cut short by his early death (1907). Gairdner was to

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. article by W. W. Cash in C.M. Review, February, 1914.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Kyriakos Mikhail, Copts and Moslems under British Control. A Collection of Facts and a Resume of Authoritative Opinions on the Coptic Question (London, 1911) esp. pp. 19-30 and Stock, History of the C.M.S., IV, 105-107.

<sup>3</sup>By 1914, there were 39 C.M.S. workers in Egypt and <sup>h</sup>Kartoum (5 clergy, 7 laymen including 5 doctors, 7 wives, and 20 other women). Stock, History of the C.M.S., IV, 111f.



become an acknowledged authority on Arabic and Islam. His report on the Edinburgh Conference and his counsel at Jerusalem (1928) were given serious consideration. His life's work and numerous writings will be examined in the next chapter. Thornton and Gairdner sought to convey the Christian message to the educated Muslims and students of Cairo. Gairdner wrote:

"'Educated Mohammedans' is a term embracing very divergent types. These divergences, however, reduce themselves to two main classes, between which there is a great gulf fixed: those who have had a traditional Islamic education ending with the Azhar University, and those who have had a Western education with the Government Secondary School or Higher College. In dress the same divergence is for the most part marked; the former (the 'Sheikh' class) wearing orthodox Oriental costume, and the latter (the 'Effendi' class) wearing Western dress with 'tarboosh' (or fez)."<sup>1</sup>

Thornton and Gairdner explored a variety of methods and approaches. First, open public lectures in English or Arabic on topics of general interest, with a pointed Christian theme interwoven, attracted good audiences. In a society learning to give open expression to its opinions, the discussions that followed were at times even stormy. These well-advertized lectures often led to personal interviews, Bible groups and instruction for inquirers. Second, a tour of evangelistic meetings by Thornton in Upper Egypt gained the cooperation of Coptic priests and bishops. Thornton, Gairdner and MacInnes were on very good terms with the Coptic Orthodox Church and sought to stimulate it by meetings, Bible instruction, literature, assistance to seminary students, etc. Also on tour, W. Wilson Cash reached out to Muslims in the villages.<sup>2</sup> Third, a bookstore served the double purpose of attracting both sheikh and effendi classes to Christian literature and to personal conferences with this dynamic duet. Fourth, Gairdner turned to the production of apologetical literature. In addition to tracts and booklets, the Arabic paper,

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<sup>1</sup>W. H. T. Gairdner, D. M. Thornton, A Study in Missionary Ideals and Methods (London, 1908), p. 73.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Thornton's accounts in C. M. Review, August and October, 1907. Also cf. W. W. Cash, Christendom and Islam. Their Contacts and Cultures down the Centuries (London, 1937) and The Moslem World in Revolution (London, 1925).

Orient and Occident (1905- ) disseminated Christian ideas and induced intellectual ferment among several thousand readers. Literature secretary Constance Padwick would continue this good work. Fifth, Thornton and Gairdner demonstrated a willingness to combine experimentation and dedication. Accepting invitations to speak to student groups, they maintained the spirit of openness and the sense of conviction that attracts students seeking "answer" to life's basic questions. Their success discloses that Muslims were far from inaccessible! Sixth, they cooperated in many ecumenical ventures such as the training center for Protestant missionaries to Muslims and the Nile Mission Press founded by Annie Van Sommer. Miss Van Sommer also founded the mission quarterly, Blessed be Egypt (Isa. 19:25) and the "Fellowship of Faith for Moslems" under the leadership of S. M. Zwemer and Bishop Stileman. There was ample evidence of "catholic" spirit among Christians to Egypt.

These efforts were not without results. Despite handicaps imposed by British rulers and ancient bias, converts came forward. Mahmud, the son of a Sheikh in southern Palestine and graduate of al-Azhar, began Christian instruction (Oct. 1905) and soon confessed his Faith in Christ before Lord Cromer and high Egyptian officials (Feb. 1906). Sheikh Skandar Abd-al-Masih, the first Muslim convert baptized by Thornton, read the prayers at the graveside of the latter in 1907. A number of Muslims from Asia Minor and Syria came to declare their Christian faith in the "relative" security of Egypt. Some efforts to induce converts to return to Islam succeeded, but most stood fast and served with strong purpose. While the Mission delayed in forming congregations, so as not to unnecessarily draw from the Coptic Church, it at last formed a "Church Committee" (1908), defining its goal as "to preach the Gospel of Christ among those in Egypt who know Him not". The several hundred strong "Episcopal Church in Egypt" (officially founded, 1925) would later come under Bishop MacInnes of Jerusalem. C.M.S. work is not to be measured simply in numbers. Cooperating with the Presbyterians and Samuel Zwemer

it helped prepare the way for the development of a maturer ecumenical Protestant approach to Muslims. The first international Conference of Missionaries to Muslims in Cairo (April 4-9, 1906) was a turning point in this development.

Latourette would write of the period:

"In the age-old struggle against Islam results which could be measured in statistics might be small. Yet momentum was being gathered."<sup>1</sup>

In the next chapter this momentum and maturation will be examined more closely.

Church once inhabiting sectors of Arabia had ceased to exist, there was no question of ecclesiastical relations. Missionaries were thus to concentrate on "environmental problems" and the evangelization of Muslims. The Peninsula, ethnic and religious homeland of the Arab, had earned the respect of many. A forbidding land to the outsider, it was fortified by surrounding seas of water and sand. For a millennium, Arabia wore a veil protecting the sanctuaries of Islam and the Tribal Arab. Turkish-Egyptian encroachment, however, did not prevent the peninsula from experiencing radical religious puritanism (the Wahhabis) and growing prestige (Ibn Saud, 1901). Few were the survivors among Europeans who dared tread upon its sacred and inhospitable soil before the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Even missionaries were at the mercy of Muslim populations which classed them as kaafir, infidels. The British presence had been established at Aden (1839) and in the Persian/Arabian Gulf by agreements with the Sheikhs of Bahrain, Kuwait, the Sultan of Muscat, etc., but British residences were far from a guarantee of security.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Arabia proper covers about one million square miles with distances, e.g. Akaba-Yemen (1,800 miles), Aden-Muscat (ca. 1,500), Muscat-Bahrain (500), Bahrain-Basrah (ca. 400) Kuwait-Jerusalem (ca. 900), exhausting even the experienced traveler. Its harsh terrain of desert waste, rocky waste, plateaus and mountain ridges plus extremes of temperature take an added toll in life.

<sup>2</sup>For the best travel literature see the works of G. G. Meyer, Burckhardt, etc.

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<sup>1</sup>Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 28.

<sup>3</sup>For more on this see, e.g., Aden and the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia (London, 1877).



## PIONEER REFORMED MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS IN ARABIA, 1885-1910

### Background

The set of circumstances faced by Protestant missions to the Arabian Peninsula were quite different from that in lands previously described. Since the Church once inhabiting sectors of Arabia had ceased to exist, there was no question of ecclesiastical relations. Missionaries were thus to concentrate on "environmental problems" and the evangelization of Muslims. The Peninsula, ethnic and religious homeland of the Arab, had earned the respect of many. A forbidding land to the outsider, it was fortified by surrounding seas of water and sand.<sup>1</sup> For a millennium, Arabia wore a veil protecting the sanctuaries of Islam and the Tribal Arab. Turkish-Egyptian encroachment, however, did not prevent the peninsula from experiencing radical religious puritanism (the Wahhabis) and growing prestige (Ibn Saud, 1901). Few were the survivors among Europeans who dared tread upon its sacred and inhospitable soil before the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Even missionaries were at the mercy of Muslim populaces which classed them as kafirs, infidels. The British presence had been established at Aden (1839) and in the Persian/Arabian Gulf by agreements with the Sheikhs of Bahrain, Kuwait, the Sultan of Muscat, etc., but British residences were far from a guarantee of security.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>For the best travel literature see the works of C. Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Burton, Palgrave, and Doughty.

<sup>3</sup>For more background cf. F. M. Hunter, An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia (London, 1877).

Missionaries in most cases purposely avoided seeking protection under the "flag" lest it alienate them from the people of the land.<sup>1</sup>

Up to 1880, Arabia and its coastal waters had known only a few Roman Catholic workers at Jidda and Aden (1840-); the excursions of Sabat (later assistant of Martyn), Anthony Graves, Joseph Wolff, Henry A. Stern; and the colporteurs sent by John Wilson of Bombay and the Bible Societies.<sup>2</sup> About this time, F. T. Haig, a dedicated Christian British officer, began to make extensive journeys around the coasts of Arabia and to publish pleas for missions to Arabs.<sup>3</sup> His request to the C.M.S. (1885) was met in part by the Scottish Mission to Aden. Haig's written and verbal counsel proved helpful to the Cantine-Zwemer team as well:

"There is no difficulty about preaching the Gospel in Arabia if men can be found to face the consequences. The real difficulty would be the protection of the converts. Most probably they would be exposed to violence and death. The infant church might be a martyr church at first like that of Uganda but that would not prevent the spread of the truth in its ultimate triumph."<sup>4</sup>

The courage, death and prophetic words of Bishop Thomas Valpy French also rallied Cantine and Zwemer to their calling:

"I understand that you also are intending to visit Muscat and the Persian Gulf coast of Arabia. Do not let the fact that I am preceding you change your plans. I am an old man, and it may be God's will that I can only view the promised land, while it is for you to enter in."<sup>5</sup>

Buried in a small cove near Muscat, French left a challenge captured at the time by A. E. Moule:

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<sup>1</sup>S. M. Zwemer and J. Cantine, The Golden Milestone: Reminiscences of Pioneer Days Fifty Years Ago in Arabia (New York, 1938), pp. 25f, 78ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. J. Wolff, Travels and Adventures, pp. 496-512; A. A. Isaacs, Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern (London, 1886), pp. 101-138; and Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 59f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. "Gate of Arabia," in C.M. Intelligencer and The Christian (February, 1885), 13ff, and Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 521ff.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in A. D. Mason and F. J. Barny, History of the Arabian Mission (New York, 1926), pp. 67f.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted in The Golden Milestone, p. 40.

"Where Muscat fronts the Orient sun  
'Twixt heaving sea and rock steep,  
His work of mercy scarce begun,  
A saintly soul has fallen asleep:  
Who comes to lift the Cross instead?  
Who takes the standard from the dead?"<sup>1</sup>

It remains now to see how those in the Scottish Mission and the Arabian Mission accepted this pioneer work for Muslims in Arabia.

Ion Keith Falconer and the Scottish Mission to Aden, 1885-1910

Aden, strategic British link with India, was considered by some a "Gate" to Arabia's interior.<sup>2</sup> Just north of the harbor and "Crater" lay Sheikh Othman, a town on the caravan route. It was here that Ion Grant Neville Keith-Falconer (1856-1887) would plant a Mission.<sup>3</sup> Educated at Harrow (1869-1873) and Cambridge (Trinity College), he had earned honor in mathematics, theology, Greek and Hebrew. Under Professor Wright of Cambridge, he intensified his study of Semitic languages, including Arabic. In 1881-82, he traveled to Leipzig and Egypt to acquire more Arabic before being forced home by "fever". His concern for "mission" was evidenced by his work for the Moody visit to Cambridge (1875), the Barnwell Mission, and the Tower Hamlets Mission (East London). Here in the midst of humanity, he observed that man's temporal and spiritual needs were interwoven and both needed attention

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<sup>1</sup>Printed in the C.M. Intelligencer (July, 1891). Also cf. Stock, History of the C.M.S., III, 116ff, 532ff, IV, 130f and Birks, French, II, 361ff.

<sup>2</sup>Aden (about 80 sq. miles) and Aden protectorate (112 sq. miles), bordered by the fertile Hadramaut, the waste Rub'al Khāli (Empty Quarter) and Yemen, had a small population which by W.W. II was under 50,000. Its inhabitants came from Arabia, India, Africa and Europe. Aden came under the British Indian government (1839) until it became a Crown Colony (1935), under the Colonial Office, London. It is scheduled for full independence in 1968.

<sup>3</sup>Ion Keith-Falconer descended from two noble Scottish families prominent in the chivalry surrounding the Danish Invasion (1010), the founding of Marischal College, Aberdeen (1593), Cromwell's rule (1657- ) and the Restoration (1677). He was born the 3rd son of the Eighth Earl of Kintore, an active elder of the Free Church of Scotland. Cf. James Balfour Paul (ed.), The Scots Peerage (Edinburgh, 1908), V, 240-255; James Robson, Ion Keith-Falconer of Arabia (London, n.d.); and Robert Sinker, Memorials of the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer (London, 1888).



if a "whole man" was to emerge in Christ. Correspondence with General Gordon (1881) discloses Keith-Falconer's consideration of the fields of Syria and Istanbul.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile he continued to develop his linguistic skills. His critical emendation and translation of the old Syriac version of Kalilah and Dimnah, Fable of Bidpai (published 1885) reveals careful scholarship.<sup>2</sup> In 1883, he also participated in the Congress of Orientalists at Leiden. Yet he felt he was leading a double life: as examiner, tutor and lecturer at Cambridge and as secretary of Tower Hamlets Mission. What he sought, however, was opportunity to unite his two "loves". The biographer of this missionary-orientalist expressed it thus:

"...still it seemed as if some scheme ought to present itself in which Christian zeal and linguistic power might work hand in hand or rather, shall I say, in which his intellectual attainments and his learning might be to him something more than a mere parallel interest, existing side by side with, but having no connection with, work for Christ."<sup>3</sup>

After reading George Smith's Life of John Wilson of Bombay (also a skilled linguist), seeing his intimate friend C. T. Studd depart as a missionary to China, and conversing with Haig, Keith-Falconer turned his thoughts towards Aden.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the hazard of climate, here was an international port and crossroads for caravans with reasonable political stability.

Keith-Falconer surveyed Aden from October 28, 1885 to March 6, 1886. He

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<sup>1</sup>Sinker, Keith-Falconer, pp. 113ff.

<sup>2</sup>The sanskrit original was reportedly a story of the Lion and the Ox as told by Bidpai, chief of the Brahmins, but probably put into Persian, Syriac and Arabic (ca. A.D. 570) for specific reasons. Arberry says: "This repertory of animal fables is by no means the simple entertainment it might at first be presumed to be. The stories are a shrewd and sometimes caustic commentary on political life under an absolute monarchy, and it is not far fetched to suppose that the portraits presented are thinly disguised cartoons of the entourage of the caliph himself. The animals are made to deliver themselves of sententious wisdom matured through centuries of Sassanian rule,...It is one of the world's great classics." Cf. A. J. Arberry, Aspects of Islamic Civilization (London, 1964), p. 74.

<sup>3</sup>Sinker, Keith-Falconer, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup>Haig's persuasiveness is seen in his article, "On Both Sides of the Red Sea," C.M. Intelligencer (May, 1887), 282ff.

found the Roman Catholic Mission and the Resident British Chaplain doing no effective work for the Arabs. The Arabs soon respected him as one who knew the Quran and literary Arabic (nahwi). During this time, he decided that he must take the "risk" and set up a Mission at Sheikh Othman. His thoughts on "mission" are reflected in his correspondence. First, "mission" must be the witness extended from the Church and not just an individual. While financing this Station from his own personal funds, he offered it in the name of the Free Church of Scotland. Second, the Station must be identified with the Arabs. Sheikh Othman fit this qualification better than "safe" Steamer Point. Third, the work must minister to the visible needs of the people. Hence he called for an educational-medical program to win the hearts and minds of the people; a physician, especially a surgeon to reach the people and create new opportunities; and a school to give students a regular base of knowledge and the ability to read the Arabic Bible and Christian books. Fourth, a straight forward presentation of the Gospel was necessary to remove from the Arab mind misconceptions derived from "the evil example set by so many Europeans who live in or pass through Aden" and the Roman Catholics who were classed with Hindus for their use of "idols" and pictures. Keith-Falconer reflected that such a presentation of "Isa" and the "Injil" conveyed with prudence and self-denial might be "welcomed as a message from God."<sup>1</sup> Back in Scotland before the General Assembly of the Free Church (May 26, 1886), he spoke of the Muslim Haji who urged "If you want the people to walk in your way, then set up schools". Keith-Falconer's confidence in the power of God's Word was confirmed by this same Haji who refused a copy of St. John because its message (esp. "If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of Him, and He would have given thee living water.") made him fearful. "That verse," said the Muslim, "makes my heart tremble, lest I be

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Sinker, Keith-Falconer, pp. 176-186.

made to follow in the way of the Messiah."<sup>1</sup> Here in a nutshell was the problem of Arabia. The social-political environment did not permit even those Muslims of such sensitive perception to respond positively to the Gospel of Christ.

Before returning to Aden, Keith-Falconer began research for his lecture, "Pilgrimage to Mecca";<sup>2</sup> spoke to churches in Glasgow and Edinburgh; and enlisted Stewart Cowen, a qualified surgeon of Glasgow to serve with him. Keith-Falconer's messages indicate a sympathetic approach which considered that Islam was to the Arabs as the Torah to the Jews, a "schoolmaster" to bring them to Christ.<sup>3</sup> Reaching Aden in December, 1886, this one who could speak fluent Arabic was soon gathering small groups for Bible reading and visiting homes, coffee shops and outside villages. Then suddenly the well-laid plans were disrupted by malarial fever (Feb. 10th) and death (May 11, 1887).

The Scottish Mission bereft of her founder continued by the sheer dedication of a few determined workers. Of the thirteen students at New College who offered themselves for this work, only William R. W. Gardner, a promising Semitic scholar, was ordained for Aden.<sup>4</sup> Gardner conducted a school until 1904 when this responsibility was taken over by the Danish Mission. Educational work, an integral part of Keith-Falconer's vision was recovered only in 1920 under James Robson and W. Idris Jones. Medical work centering about the hospital became the mainstay of the program under Alexander Paterson, John C. Young (served 1892-1926), Alexander

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 193-197.

<sup>2</sup>Keith-Falconer was newly appointed Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. It was understood that he could hold this historic chair by returning to give a minimum of one lecture series annually, Cf. Ibid., pp. 217ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>4</sup>The death of Keith-Falconer stirred Christian circles around the world, but the work in Aden was never granted the means and personnel for an extensive program which could reach out to the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula. Incidentally, the four hundred books of Keith-Falconer's library were given to New College Library, Edinburgh.



MacRae (served 1906-1917), P. W. R. Petrie and others. Young, as both physician and evangelist in the fullest sense, became a beloved "household name" among the people. In the hard soil and climate of Aden, the Mission has sought to weave Christian teaching into all its activities. Its presence has demonstrated no ambition to worldly power but a quiet effort to testify to the spirit and love of Christ. One worker stated their aim thus:

"It is quite simply, to preach Christ to Arabia by word and deed and life, and by every means within our power. It is not an easy task or one likely to produce quick returns....The real hope of winning Arabia lies in the creation of an indigenous native church."<sup>1</sup>

The Church has emerged in "microcosm" and by faith seeks to demonstrate what it is to be "in Christ". In 1902, a sheikh was baptized; in 1908, six more were admitted to the Church; and others followed. One of these, Ahmed Sa'eed Affara, baptized at the age of 19, studied medicine in Edinburgh, and returned to witness as a dedicated Christian physician in his home country.<sup>2</sup> For him, it was the attraction of Christ and the true liberty found in Him that prompted faith and obedience. Thus the minute Church of South Arabia (officially formed January 8, 1961) maintains its precarious existence in the midst of ferment, patiently, prayerfully witnessing of God's love for the people of Arabia. Who is to say the vision and sacrifice of Keith-Falconer was in vain.<sup>3</sup>

What lessons exist here? Just this! Although the Church "in mission" to Muslims does not find "instant success" and solution to environmental and religious problems, she is still called to witness even if that be by her "presence" as the "suffering servant".

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<sup>1</sup>W. Idris Jones, The Arab (Edinburgh, n.d.) pp. 52ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Affara, How I Found Christ (Church of Scotland Bookstore, Edinburgh, n.d.).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. The Church is There: In Two Moslem Lands, South Arabia and West Pakistan (Church of Scotland Overseas Council, Edinburgh, 1964); Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp. 285ff; plus the Annual Reports of the Foreign Mission Committee, Church of Scotland.

The Arabian Mission in Eastern Arabia and the Gulf, 1889-1910

The Arabian Mission, by far the most extensive endeavor in Arabia, was founded largely by two men, James Cantine and Samuel H. Zwemer, both who were privileged to celebrate its Golden Jubilee.<sup>1</sup> The plan for the Mission originated in the heart of John G. Lansing, professor of Arabic and Hebrew at New Brunswick Theological Seminary (Reformed Church in America), the oldest seminary in the United States. Reared in Damascus and Egypt, he shared his father's affection for the Arab peoples who still lacked the "Good News" of God in Christ.<sup>2</sup> Three students, Samuel M. Zwemer, James Cantine and Philip T. Phelps joined with him to draft their first plan (1889).<sup>3</sup> When the Board of Foreign Missions, already heavily indebted, could offer no support, the Arabian Mission went "independent". Later the Reformed Church in America officially adopted this Mission (1894) which in reality was being supplied by its finances and personnel. The Mission's aim was to reach the heartlands of Islam, namely Arabia. Abraham's prayer and its fulfillment became their motto: "Oh that Ishmael might live before Thee" (Gen. 17:18).

Cantine and Zwemer benefited by study of Arabic and Islam under Presbyterian auspices in Beirut (1889-90) and the help of H. H. Jessup, C. Van Dyck, James Dennis and others. Taking with them a Syrian Muslim convert, Kamil Abdul Messiah, they surveyed the Arabian coast, e.g. Jidda, Hodeida, Aden, Makallah and Bahrain before selecting Basrah (August, 1891) as a base from which to "occupy the

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<sup>1</sup>The Golden Milestone, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days Fifty Years Ago in Arabia by S. M. Zwemer and J. Cantine (New York, 1839) is a mine of valuable information.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Gulian Lansing, Egypt's Princes (1864).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. John G. Lansing, "The Origin and Plan of the Arabian Mission," The Christian Intelligencer (August 28, 1889) reprinted in The Golden Milestone, pp. 148ff.

interior of Arabia". Basrah, a thriving port of 60,000 inhabitants, sixty miles up the Shatt-al-Arab (merged Tigris-Euphrates rivers) was a strategic crossroads. While Turkish and local authorities prohibited public preaching, they lacked power to halt the sales of Scriptures, private conversation and tours. A major blow was the sudden death of Kamil (1892), whose teaching and speaking was "too effective" to be tolerated.<sup>1</sup> Assisted by two Eastern Christians, Salome Anton and Elias Gergis, Zwemer and Cantine began a scheme of colportage at Basrah and along the twin rivers to Baghdad. After faltering starts with Charles E. Riggs and James T. Wyckoff, Dr. H. R. Worrall (1895-) put medical work for Muslims on a permanent basis.<sup>2</sup> The strategic islands of Bahrain, once the home of a Christian bishopric, were chosen for the second station.<sup>3</sup> Purposely missing his ship, Samuel Zwemer took up residence with a stock of Bibles (1892) and soon rented a shop from which he entered the lively interchange of conversation and adventure that so marked his life. Taking the name Dhaif Allah (guest of God), he was at times labelled Dhaif Iblis (guest of the devil) but years later local citizens called him, Fatih al-Bahrain, the pioneer of progress in the Islands. His binding friendship with Arabs, his readiness to serve the need of any and to converse of Christ with all attracted wide fame.<sup>4</sup> His adventurous tours by river steamer and foot to Baghdad

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<sup>1</sup>After Kamil's sudden death, authorities seized and buried his body before an autopsy could be performed. Assassination by poison was the fate of more than one convert from Islam. Zwemer wrote of him, "Ever since he was here Kamil has been a faithful and at times a very bold confessor of Christ and the Gospel. Around his dead body were many who witnessed to the purity of his life and motives." Cf. Mason and Barny, Arabian Mission, p. 71 and H. H. Jessup, Kamil Abdul Messiah.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. The Golden Milestone, chapters 3, 4, 5, 7.

<sup>3</sup>These islands including about 250 square miles and at the time about 50,000 persons (mainly Shi'ah Muslims) date their history back to the times of Abraham and Alexander the Greek. Occupied by Portuguese (1507), Persians (1602) and then the 'Utayba Tribe from the Arab Mainland, they had contact with the East India Company after 1820. They became a British protectorate in 1861.

<sup>4</sup>The Golden Milestone, pp. 108ff and J. C. Wilson, Apostle to Islam, A Biography of Samuel M. Zwemer (Grand Rapids, 1952) pp. 53ff.



(1892); to the Arabian interior Province of Hassa (city of Hofhoof, 1893); and to Sanaa, Yemen (1891 and 1894) gave him the widest knowledge of Arabia held by any European in his day and opportunity to distribute many Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> Peter J. Zwemer, Samuel's brother, opened the third station at Muscat, Oman (1893), a land of variety and possibility.<sup>2</sup> While beginning with a school for freed African slaves, Peter Zwemer and James Cantine hoped this gateway for caravans going into Arabia's interior would become an entrance for missionaries.<sup>3</sup>

At the sacrifice of life, labour and resources in Christ's name, the Mission rooted itself in these Arab lands and hearts.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately the Mission was not lacking in qualified recruits so that by 1909, there were 26 regular missionaries. The Arabian Mission maintained an ecumenical flavour by drawing its personnel from five denominations and several nationalities. So strengthened the Mission could establish new stations at Amarah on the Tigris River (1895), Nasirya on the Euphrates (1897) and at Kuwait (1910).<sup>5</sup> The first modern hospital in Eastern

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. The Golden Milestone, chapters 6, 8, 11.

<sup>2</sup>Muscat had attracted both Martyn and French. Its land varies from the coastal "Batina" to the scorching desert "empty quarter" to Jabal Akhdar (10,000 ft). Its semi-tropical valleys produce oranges, bananas, coconuts, etc. Oman's 82,000 square miles shelters an estimated million souls, a people mingling the blood of Arab, Indian, Baluchi, African, Persian and others. While these people have been long isolated, they were admired by missionaries. Harold Storm wrote, "The most hospitable, friendly and responsible type of Arab in Arabia is to be found in the Oman field." Cf. Whither Arabia? (London, 1938) p. 69. Paul Harrison noted: "There seems more hope for future progress in Oman than in any other province of Arabia." Cf. The Arab at Home (New York, 1924), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. "Experiences in Muscat" by Cantine, The Golden Milestone, chapter 12 and R. E. Speer, Missionary Principles and Practice (New York, 1902), pp. 462f.

<sup>4</sup>Within seven years the Mission lost five adults and two children by death including Peter Zwemer (d. 1898), George E. Stone (d. 1899), and Harry J. Wiersum (d. 1901).

<sup>5</sup>In 1923, the Reformed Church in America joined with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. to form the United Mission to Iraq. Basrah formed a natural connecting link between this venture and the Arabian Mission. Unfortunately the question of "religious liberty" in Iraq as in Arabia went unresolved. Cf. S. A. Morrison, Religious Liberty in the Near East (London, 1949) and "Religious Liberty in Muslim Lands" in The Church and the State, vol. IV. of the Reports on the Madras Conference (Madras, 1938).

Arabia was dedicated at Bahrain in 1903, followed by others at Basrah, Kuwait and Oman. Small schools, chapels or "house-churches" also appeared. Syrian and Armenian Christians from Baghdad, Mosul, Mardin and Turkey arrived (esp. 1900-1910) to help as evangelists, colporteurs and hospital workers. Friendly relations with the Sheikhs of the Eastern Amirates and King Ibn Sa'ud facilitated the purchase of properties and the extension of tours. Even during the various Arab uprisings, the Armenian and Assyrian massacres in the North, and World War I, the Arabian Mission was permitted to continue its work. It had gained the respect and appreciation of the Arab people prior to the discovery of petroleum and the advances of "progress". This identification with the Arab people -- the diffusion of Biblical truth, and the demonstration of Christian love via medicine and education -- lent itself to improved Christian-Muslim relationships. Nevertheless, converts from Islam still faced physical violence, economic boycott, social ostracism and disinheritance by both family and government. The twentieth century found many Arab lands still longing for basic human rights.

#### An Examination of the Efforts of the Arabian Mission.

How was a Protestant Mission to implement its program in strictly Muslim lands? Faced by this question, the Arabian Mission adapted the traditional "means" to her environment. Literature-evangelism became one of the boldest direct efforts to reach Muslims. Cantine and Zwemer refused to accept defeat when foiled by authorities. During the first decade, bookshops, colportage, and personal evangelism reached surprisingly large numbers. By 1912, over 8,000 Scriptures and several thousand religious books were sold annually. This was remarkable when one considers that over 80% of these sales were to Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Samuel Zwemer was concerned that the volume and quality of Christian literature for Muslims might increase.

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<sup>1</sup>Also cf. R. Kilgour, "The Bible in Arabia," in Whither Arabia? by W. H. Storm, pp. 116f.

Thus he helped found the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems which stimulated publication in Beirut, Cairo and India. The workers of the Arabian Mission lived under a compulsion to reach inland. Touring received considerable attention as pioneer medical-evangelist teams accepted the invitation of King Ibn Sa'ud. Paul Harrison and others visited Riaydh (1917 and 1919); L. P. Dame also reached into the interior on extensive tours (1921-22, 1923 and 1932); and Harold Storm toured the Hadramaut (1935). These ventures were a unique type of work in the annals of missions.<sup>1</sup> While "to occupy the interior" was interpreted geographically in the early days of the Mission, no evangelist would quarrel with the reinterpretation that it implied bringing the Gospel to bear upon the "interior" of Islam, upon the heart and mind of all Muslims. This was to remain the awesome task of the twentieth century.

Medical work gained an approved share in the Mission's program as a legitimate means for contact and communication.<sup>2</sup> Storm described it as a preparatory work:

"Medical work has so far been the most helpful approach. It has disarmed opposition and paved the way for other forms of work. Through hospital, friendships are made which influence regions far beyond the geographical boundaries of the mission...."<sup>3</sup>

By 1914, three well equipped hospitals and a number of dispensaries were treating nearly 24,000 "new cases" and a total patient load nearly double that.<sup>4</sup> Medical

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. J. Beatty, "Desert Doctor," American Magazine (October, 1938); W. H. Storm, "Hadramaut -- Its Challenge," World Dominion (January 1937), 53ff; L. P. Dame, "Four Months in Nejd," M.W., 14 (1924), 353ff, "From Bahrain to Taif," M.W., 23 (1933), 164ff, "Objectives in Arabia," M.W., 20 (1930), 179ff; and G. D. Van Peursem, "Methods of Evangelism in Arabia," M.W., II (1921), 267ff.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Zwemer appreciated this means more after an inquirer came to him wrapped in a pseudo-bandage. The inquirer explained it convinced his Muslim neighbors that he had a legitimate reason for talking with the Christian. This only highlighted the conviction that the Gospel is best conveyed through normal channels of human activity.

<sup>3</sup>Storm, Whither Arabia?, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup>Mason and Barny, Arabian Mission, p. 155.



workers were not only highly qualified but most articulate Christians.<sup>1</sup> Two serious technical and theological questions would become more acute, however, as the twentieth century progressed. How does one control the snowballing effect that specialization, new techniques, new public consciousness of health-needs produces in terms of staff, facilities and finances? Most medical missionaries gradually saw the need to "limit" the program to opening new doors, supporting mass movements, reaching resistant classes, alleviating the most needy cases of suffering, etc. Yet who was to draw this "impossible" line? As national governments began their own public health programs, circumstances changed very radically (e.g. the welfare state of Kuwait). This meant missionaries must concentrate on making a "witness" within the medical field or opt out of the medical field altogether and select other channels of witness. The training centers for Christian medical workers in Edinburgh, London, Battle Creek (Michigan), Tübingen, Assiut, Vellore, etc. and the Medical Missionary Associations in India and the Near East helped tackle these tremendous problems.<sup>2</sup> More serious perhaps was the question of how to relate medical and evangelistic functions? The doctor at times appears torn between the demands of the sheer quantity of physical work and the call to witness. Some contended that the "deed" in itself was adequate. But this point of view soon came under attack by those who held that man's dilemma and health are really

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<sup>1</sup> Writings by Louis P. Dame and W. Harold Storm have already been listed. Henry R. L. Worrall, Sharon and Marion Thoms, and Arthur K. Bennett were also capable spokesmen. Anglican C. S. G. Mylrea wrote "Arabia-a Retrospect, 1912-22," C.M. Review (Dec. 1922), 269ff, "Kuweit, Arabia," M.W., 7 (1917), prepared, How to be Healthy in Hot Climates (New York, 1949), and My Arabian Days and Nights (New York, 1961). Paul W. Harrison, famed for speech and pen, wrote: "The Arab Mind and the Gospel," M.W., 12 (1922), 225ff, "The Gospel and the Bedowin," M.W., 4 (1914), 368ff, The Arab at Home (New York, 1924), Doctor in Arabia (New York, 1940), The Light that Lighteth Every Man. Expositions in the Gospel of St. John (Grand Rapids, 1958) plus a commentary on Romans. His wife, Anne M. Harrison wrote: Pearls are Made (New York, 1958) and A Tool in His Hand (New York, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Continuation Committee Conference in Asia, 1912-13 (New York, 1913), section 13, p. 354 and section 1, pp. 81, 356.

understood only in the Word and the Work of God in Christ.<sup>1</sup> Paul Harrison asserted clearly that the doctor must be an evangelist:

"It will require a good deal of knowledge of the language and it will require an organization of the whole work with this end in view, but there is surely nothing unreasonable in this. The medical missionary came out here for this precise purpose. It will make severe demands on the doctor's physical strength, but this is a matter of the very greatest importance, and a little medical work might even be sacrificed if necessary."<sup>2</sup>

Harrison tried to avoid both the pitfalls of "institutionalization" and a "liberal theology" which exalted "experience" at the expense of the Word. His winning personality was a genuine asset in communicating the Gospel to Muslim Arabs. While treating up to 125 patients per day and performing 15 to 20 operations a week in his years in Kuwait, Bahrain and Muscat-Mutrah, he managed to convey something of the spirit and Word of Christ to each. This life-long student of the Bible, expressed his approach thus:

"The approach, on the basis of simple, unaffected, democratic equality is ninety percent of missionary method. Associating with the Arabs in this way you may easily meet them and have them meet you as warm friends, and many details take care of themselves....The missionary has no weapons to force an entrance except prayer and friendly service. He is not able, nor does he wish, to enter a place until he is invited. So the method of procedure has been to work out from a base hospital and school and evangelistic station on the coast and gradually so to commend ourselves to the people that our presence inland is desired. This has been to gain the good will of the people by steady, thorough medical work, by educational institutions and by a quiet uncompromising evangelistic campaign....Even the evangelistic missionary is eventually made welcome because of his obvious good intentions and practical benevolence....This is a task of years. In accomplishing it our most powerful instrument is the example of the Christian family life lived in full view of the people....Next...the most effective means of getting acquainted is the work of the mission hospitals....If the doctor can add to his professional skill an unfailing human sympathy and personal interest...he becomes almost irresistible....He can present and explain Christ's teachings to every one of his hospital patients. He can associate on terms of friendly equality even with the fanatical Akhwan (the Wahhabis). In twelve years' experience I have never met a patient with whom it was impossible to do this sort of personal work."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Dr. Bulme, Where Medical Missions Fail, quoted in H. T. Hodgkin, The Way of the Good Physician (London, 1915), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Hodgkin, The Way, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup>P. Harrison, The Arab at Home, pp. 290-294.

This graduate of Johns Hopkins University and intimate friend of Samuel Zwemer certainly represents one of the finest personable, Christ-centered approaches to the Muslim. Harrison was persuaded that the dynamic Word and spirit of Christ was able to transform every human relationship and life.

With the exception of the schools in Basrah which developed under John Van Ess, educational work appeared to be the weakest link in the Mission's program. Schools in Muscat and Bahrain remained at primary level. E. E. Calverly's school for young men in Kuwait made only a brief impact before being closed due to short finances in the Mission.<sup>1</sup> In 1910, Van Ess gained the Sultan's Irade permitting Mission Schools for Boys and Girls including permission to teach Bible courses in all grades. After the customary delays, the primary, grammar and high schools at Basrah began drawing students from all ranks of society into a student-body that was more than 50% Muslim.<sup>2</sup> Respected by Arab governments, this excellent school became a "model" for numerous Arab educators. Van Ess understood that his task was not simply the conveyance of a set of "ideals", "truths", or "ethics", but the leading of students into an encounter, a relationship, a life of faith with God in Christ:

"Now, of discipleship the crux is not knowledge but obedience, surrender. To be a disciple implies a conflict of wills, and when I have led the Arab to surrender his will to that of Christ, I have made him a disciple. Does this method work? In my experience it is the only method that does work. It eliminates from the Arab's mind the idea I am in conflict with him. It represents a constructive purpose rather than a destructive process....The missionary should capitalize (on) that in which government and secular schools, by their own confession, cannot compete with them, namely, the personal influence which he can exert, the lofty motives which inspire him and the development of high character....Christ must be at the very heart of the curriculum. I personally would not care to spend five minutes of my life in

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<sup>1</sup>Edwin E. Calverly later became a professor at Hartford Theological Seminary and an editor of The Muslim World. In addition to his scholarly articles, he wrote: Worship in Islam (New York, 1925) and Islam: An Introduction (New York, 1958).

<sup>2</sup>The school enrolled 30 boys and 29 girls in 1910, 146 and 94 in 1914, and 200 and 100 in 1924. Cf. Mason and Barney, Arabian Mission, pp. 149ff, 187f. With its new High School (1966), it still serves a vital role in the community.



the East teaching in a school where Christ is not made such. I should leave the task to any philanthropic agency which cares to treat the symptom rather than the disease....A Christian missionary is contributing nothing whatsoever to the alleviation of the world's woe unless he brings to bear that which he possesses in unique measure."<sup>1</sup>

It is regretted that the Reformed Church in America did not apply these principles more widely. Unfortunately the shortage of men and means during World War I and the depression of the 1930s led to a neglect of the schools in Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman. Perhaps the fault was partly due to the American mentality which at the time gave such predominance to medical and philanthropic work with their visible statistics. Van Ess was assured, however, that once a maturer social-political climate developed in the Near East, his work would bear wider fruits:

"Roughly two thousand boys and men have met Christ face to face for from two to eight years each, every school day of the year. Many of these now hold posts of responsibility and trust in state and society. I know definitely of only half a dozen who have gone wrong. The sons of many of them are now in school profiting by their fathers' newer outlook and by the home environment of at least friendly attitude toward the Gospel, and with the promise of an arrival of the time when the convert's enemies shall not be those of his own household."<sup>2</sup>

The young Church emerging in Eastern Arabia and the Gulf faced some of the most severe environmental problems in the world. No inquirer escaped some form of persecution. Often those baptized disappeared, presumably to their death. While neither numbers nor social circumstances warranted the official organization of the Church, it was there! The small congregations that eventually formed in Muscat and Mutrah were comprised of nearly all converts from Islam. The congregations in Bahrain, Kuwait and Basrah included Arab converts, Assyrian and Armenian Christians, plus Indian and European expatriate Christians. Following the discovery

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<sup>1</sup>John Van Ess, "Educating the Arab," M.W., 21 (1931), 380ff. Dr. Van Ess also wrote Meet the Arab (New York, 1943); Living Issues (privately printed in both Arabic and English, 1950) giving a fuller example of his approach; several Arabic grammars; and "A Quarter Century in Arabia," M.W., 19 (1929), 196ff. For chapters on Van Ess and Harrison cf. Jerome Beatty, Americans All Over (New York, 1938) and Paul Geren, New Voices, Old Worlds (New York, 1958).

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in E. M. Dodd and R. W. Dodd, Mecca and Beyond (Boston, 1937), p. 60.

of petroleum and World War II, these lands experienced phenomenal population and technological growth. Kuwait town for example became an international city, a full participant in the modern world. Faced with this challenge the Church was called to demonstrate how the power of Christ unites and reconciles men of many tongues, races and nationalities. The united Church of Christ in Kuwait with its tri-congregational pattern presented a multi-lingual Protestant witness to this modern Arab city. It also welcomed and cooperated with late-arriving Orthodox and Roman Catholic groups. By reconciling and uniting men of diverse backgrounds, it could testify as to what God is effecting in Christ as well as provide worship and fellowship for all who would come. This ecumenical effort was not to hinder the development of a Presbytery of Arab National Congregations in Eastern Arabia and the forming of bonds with national Evangelical churches in Egypt, Syria-Lebanon and Iran. The Arabian Mission retained the spirit which initiated such ecumenical ventures as the Conferences at Cairo (1906) and Lucknow (1911).<sup>1</sup>

The Arabian Mission's vigorous encounter with a rigorous Muslim environment produced several noteworthy lessons. The Christian worker among Muslims must acknowledge certain fundamentals: (1) the hostile environment of many Muslim lands is only slowly being modified. Only as a secular pluralistic society evolves, will individuals be truly free to choose their "faith", Christian or otherwise.<sup>2</sup> Hence any effort among Muslim peoples calls for a sustained, long-range program which identifies itself with the people and land. Such a program calls for the support of the corporate on-going Church of Christ. Free-lance sporadic endeavors

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<sup>1</sup>For more materials cf. Annual Reports and the periodical, Neglected Arabia (1892-1948), Arabia Calling (1949- ) of the Arabian Mission; The Church Herald, official periodical of the Reformed Church in America, and Dorothy Van Ess, History of the Arabian Mission, 1926-1957 (New York, mimeographed).

<sup>2</sup>The author's observations and experiences in Kuwait lead him to agree with the thesis that "secularization" (to be distinguished from secularism) is a preliminary stage in the arrival of the Kingdom of God. Cf. Charles Davis, God's Grace in History: A Discussion on the Christian's attitude to the modern secular world (London, 1966); A. Th. van Leeuwen, Christianity in World History, (trans. by H. H. Hoskins, London, 1964); Harvey Cox, The Secular City (London, 1965); and M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution (London, 1966).

are of little value. (2) The Christian witness needs the best available training both in his given profession and the linguistic skills of the area. (3) But more than qualifications and training, he needs the enthusiasm and friendly disposition towards others that comes from a passionate devotion to Christ. Storm counsels thus:

"...we must be quite certain that we are called to preach Christ. The desire to make men better followers of Mohammed can have no place in our programme. We seek to make men followers of Christ. That will make us unpopular and sometimes put us in real danger, and maybe the honour roll of the Church will be filled with martyrs from Arabia; but 'it is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master and the servant of his Lord.'

"The subtle and semi-conscious effort to escape from under this burden of unpopularity, which is part of the reproach of the Cross, manifests itself in two directions both of which are to be avoided if we want God's blessing on our work and to be guided by His Word...."<sup>1</sup>

The Church must avoid both the pitfalls of simply being another humanitarian agency and of escaping into pious isolationism if she is to fulfill her God-given Mission to her Muslim neighbors. Certain prerequisites are necessary. First, Churches, Near East, West and East, must experience renewed vitality and vision before the Evangel shall be fully effected in Muslim Lands. Second, the Church must be sure of her Message of the Transcendent God who has revealed Himself through Christ in time and space. The serious Muslim is a deeply religious man who will not be satisfied by ethical or idealistic superficialities or the religious-philosophical jargon so popular in contemporary Europe and America. Only a dynamic presentation of the Gospel, of the Transcendent God who redeems and rules in the incarnate, crucified and victoriously risen Christ, will suffice. Theology is at the heart of Christian-Muslim discussion. Third, the Church in Mission is compelled to take seriously the "world" as it is. This of necessity means, man in his

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<sup>1</sup>W. H. Storm, Whither Arabia?, pp. 97-99.



religions (e.g. Islam, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Still learning many difficult lessons, the Arabian Mission persists in the hope that the Gospel of Christ and His Church might be established in the midst of the Arab peoples. This striving towards a maturer Reformed approach will be examined in the next chapter under the work of Samuel M. Zwemer.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 88ff. Helpful in this area of study are: Where in the World? (London, 1965) and What in the World? (London, 1965) by Colin W. Williams, an executive director of the N.C.C. (U.S.A.) and Chairman of the Dept. of Studies in Evangelism (W.C.C.). Also cf. Johannes Blauw, "The Biblical View of Man in His Religion," in The Theology of the Christian Mission, G. H. Anderson (ed), (London, 1961).

## DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEAR EAST, 1800-1910: A RETROSPECT

Distinctive ecclesiastical and environmental factors plus an overwhelming Muslim population had tremendous influence on the development of Protestant missions in the Near East (1800-1910). The situation differed radically from that in India where there existed the "relative" security of British rule, the absence of any Ancient Church (except for Malabar), and the ameliorating effect of a heterodox society. In India workers could concentrate on "methods" and the resultant young church, but in the Near East missionaries immediately had to define their "relationships" with existing Churches, sometimes hostile governments, and a population holding largely to a "post-Christian" monotheistic faith. It is not surprising that this should have produced considerable tensions. Yet these strivings were <sup>not</sup> in vain.

New ecclesiastical relationships eventually brought mutual blessing. No one acquainted with the religious history of the Near East can help but be amazed at the spiritual renaissance of the nineteenth century. Christians within a "captive Church", restricted and deadened over the centuries, suddenly exhibited new vitality becoming once more the dynamic ingredient of the environment. The resulting division and variety did not necessarily symbolize weakness. Here was new wine seeking new bottles. The very fact that Christians were willing to leave "protected" circles of family, ancient millet and perhaps profession for an unrecognized, marked-for-persecution Evangelical Faith indicates unleashed conviction and energy. These struggles helped Churches, East and West, to better comprehend the meaning of Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church. "Holiness" (the Church's relationship to God and the resulting quality of life), missionaries rightly perceived, was a pre-requisite to the evangelization of Muslims. At first they were concerned that the Ancient Churches might be revived to a "holy life" but soon comprehended

this applied equally to their own lives and Evangelical Churches. The adjective "catholic" (the relationship of Christians as individuals and as corporate communities) highlighted the failings of all! Orthodox and Roman Churches had made their traditions and hierarchies a law unto themselves. In their pursuit of "souls", pietistic Protestants had often ignored the Christ-life as "community". High-Churchmen professed their affinity with Eastern Churches while remaining alienated from their Evangelical colleagues. Evangelicals frequently allowed their "terminology" to isolate them into cliques apart from other brethren in Christ. Nowhere more than in the Near East did the ecumenical movement appear so urgent. Churches were also rudely reawakened to the meaning of "apostolic" (the Church's relation to the world, surrounding peoples and religions). While the modern missionary movement had started in small societies, it was to lead all churches seriously to reconsider their relation to particular cultures, governments and religions. Even the injection of the principle of "separation of Church and State" cast modern missions in a light differing from its medieval predecessors.<sup>1</sup> Protestant missionaries became the vocal patrons of indigenous interests and protesters against colonial exploitation. They stimulated the rise of nationalism and cultural renaissance as well as indigenous Christianity. With national Christians, they exerted a total influence upon the Muslim community much greater than would be indicated simply by statistics.<sup>2</sup> Multitudes who would not consider the idea of conversion, perhaps vociferously resisting it, unconsciously adopted Christian ideas and ethics. Prejudices and ignorance were modified by Christian education, medicine and service. Even those hardened by century old antagonisms gained a

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<sup>1</sup>Latourette, Expansion of Christianity, VI, 62.

<sup>2</sup>Latourette argues that while "influence upon individual lives and upon a civilization" is a more difficult "yardstick" than "geographic spread" or numerical accounts, it too is a valid indicator of advance or recession. Cf. The Unquenchable Light (London, 1945), p. xi.



a new compassionate understanding of "humanity" under the radiating influence of Jesus. A historian standing next to the nineteenth century mission program for Muslims might well have been a bit despondent.<sup>1</sup> But from the broader view of history, it was certainly a milestone of advancement for the Christian faith in the lands of the Near East.<sup>2</sup>

Many questions however remained unanswered. Perhaps it was only in the twentieth century that Protestant missions were equipped to tackle the thorny issues of Muslim evangelization. In the early years, most Missions to the Near East were preoccupied with the Eastern Churches. This was followed by preliminary probings in direct Muslim work (1850-1870s) and finally in the development of substantial programs for Muslims (1880-1910). By 1910 both Anglican and Reformed forces had the experience and personnel to (realistically) face these religious and environmental obstacles. This maturer confrontation would be supported by the new ecumenical currents for "missions to Muslims" had now become an issue rising above denomination and nationality. The time was ripe for Protestants to begin a reformulation of their "theology of mission".<sup>3</sup> The "grindstone" of the Near East forced workers to ask hard questions. First, what is the Word given by God in Christ and how is it to be communicated? Second, What is the nature of this World and the Church's relation to it? This involved not only understanding

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Richter, Missions in the Near East (1910), pp. 62-80.

<sup>2</sup>Latourette's thesis is that the spread of Christianity over the earth has come in four surging tidal waves. In this light, the growth of Christian influence in the Near East is but one phase of the larger advancement. While acknowledging that each major wave of advance is followed by a recession, the incoming tide results in new high water marks. For this concept of the coming Kingdom, cf. K. S. Latourette, The Unquenchable Light, p. x and Anno Domini: Jesus, History, and God (New York, 1940).

<sup>3</sup>Anderson insists that the drawing together of Church and Mission, and Mission and Theology, as well as environmental factors forced the reformulation of a "theology of mission" after 1900. Cf. G. H. Anderson (ed), The Theology of the Christian Mission (London, 1961), pp. 3ff.

the creation, the man who is the object of God's gracious mission, but also man's prevailing religions. Third, What is the Church and how is her life related to her mission (Jn. 17:21)? W. H. T. Gairdner and Samuel M. Zwemer were two representative figures who attempted to answer these questions with regard to Islam. In the next chapter, these maturing Anglican and Reformed approaches to Muslims will be examined.

#### FACTORS STIMULATING THE REFORMULATION OF A THEOLOGY OF MISSION

The accumulative experience and maturing approaches of Anglican and Reformed missions to Muslims are faithfully represented in the figures of W. H. T. Gairdner and Samuel M. Zwemer. In this chapter, it will be seen how they give expression to the best of nineteenth century developments and yet speak to the new challenges of the twentieth century. Living in a time when powerful forces were impinging upon the evangelical theological basis and program of missions, these men were convinced that "mission" was nothing less than the outgoing gracious love of God in Christ destined for the benefit of all peoples of the earth. This central motivation would continue to energize the missionary movement even in the critical twentieth century. Nevertheless certain efforts would be calling for a reformulation of the "theology of mission", while continuing to uphold the aspiration of too much credit to these factors. They do require great acknowledgment.

First, it is observed that a resurgence of national religious and the rise of nationalisms or combinations of the two were evident in many Asian fields. If this was especially true in India, it was also evident in Japan, China, Egypt and Persia even if traditional Islam there had not yet lost its conservative position. The stimuli of western education, political and technological, and Christian missions prompted these indigenous cultures to challenge their traditional and self-reliance. By 1890 these lands contained a new spirit of self-reliance and the growth of Christian educators. Although the majority were not Christian, they were the

Chapter IV. THE EMERGENCE OF MATURING ANGLICAN AND REFORMED APPROACHES TO MUSLIMS AS REPRESENTED IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF W. H. T. GAIRDNER AND S. M. ZWEMER BEFORE 1938: TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF MISSION

FACTORS STIMULATING THE REFORMULATION OF A THEOLOGY OF MISSION

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First, it is observed that a resurgence of ancient religions and the rise of nationalism or combinations of the two were occurring in most mission fields. If this was especially true in India, it was also apparent in Turkey, Syria, Egypt and Persia even if traditional Islam there had not lost its authoritative position. The stimuli of western education, politics and technology, and Christian missions prompted these indigenous cultures to experience both renaissance and self-reassertion. By 1890 these lands contained a new educated elite, often the product of Christian educators. Although the majority were not Christian, they actively



worked for social reform, religious purification, and the modernization of society. Some of this promotion of national culture and ancient religion could be characterized as anti-foreign, possibly anti-Christian. Yet the bulk of students and educated classes were "critically" receptive to new ideas and hence a genuine challenge to missionary evangelists. Many missionaries, themselves strongly influenced by Christian student movements in Britain or America, were keen that this opportunity not be missed.

Next, the rise of the "Liberal" Schools of theology following such figures as F. Schleiermacher (1768-1834), David F. Strauss (1808-1874), and Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) certainly posed a threat to the very premises of "Evangelical" theology. While this shaking of the foundations was a healthy corrective to Protestant Scholasticism, it still left many questions unanswered. Evangelicals were convinced that appeals to experience, ethical values, rational ideals, and historical fact were not adequate substitutes for the Biblical Record of God's Revelation and the necessary metaphysical description of faith. But to make their case convincing in the twentieth century, they would need to recast their theology, especially with regard to "mission" and the "Word".<sup>1</sup>

Closely coupled to this was a third factor, the growth of historical and literary criticism. The famous Tübingen school of radical New Testament criticism under Baur had widespread influence by mid-century. While Strauss' Life of Jesus (1835) would suggest the historical unreliability of the Gospel accounts, Ritschl accepted the New Testament as a valid starting point for examining God's self-attestation in history. Harnack and Herrmann carried on his work, but the Bible's "historicity" became a battleground for many. The concepts of "biblical criticism" were greeted with various responses in Britain where Professor Robertson Smith was

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<sup>1</sup>E.g. cf. H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology (London, 1964); K. Barth, From Rousseau to Ritschl (London, 1959); Alec R. Vidler, 20th Century Defenders of the Faith (London, 1965); and K. Hartenstein, Was hat die Theologie Karl Barths der Mission zu sagen? (München, 1928).

dismissed from his chair in Aberdeen (1881) and Congregationalist A. M. Fairbairn argued that he could affirm evangelical truth by this historical method. It is only necessary to point out here that this prodded Evangelicals to develop an "apologetic" that spoke both to critics in the West and to non-Christians on the mission field.<sup>1</sup>

Fourthly, increased interest in non-western religions and the application of the principles of historical criticism produced what Max Müller titled the "scientific study of religion". In the Origin of Species (1859) and The Descent of Man (1871), Charles Darwin had rocked the field with his ideas of development, evolution or progress. By 1900 his principles were being applied to all branches of science, sociology, religion and ethics by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), T. H. Huxley (1825-1895), H. G. Wells and others. "Religion" was now seen as a common human experience or function which could be categorized according to origin and stages of development. Under these new surgical tools, Christian and non-Christian scriptures differed only in degree, not in kind. The very idea of direct revelation from God was, a priori ruled out or reinterpreted by many scholars. By undercutting the idea of the "uniqueness" of the Word of God, Christianity was seen on a par with other religions or as only the advanced product of the same human aspirations. Scholars found "parallels" and materials for "comparative religion" in all religions. The leading exponent of this new science, Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), attacked the "missionary idea" of Christianity and proposed instead the sympathetic encouragement of adherents of other religions that they might attain new heights. His solution was the peaceful co-existence of all religions until the true religion of the future would provide the fulfilment of all the religions of the past.<sup>2</sup> While

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. W. B. Glover, Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1954).

<sup>2</sup>F. M. Müller's views may be found in Chips from a German Workshop, (4 vols., London, 1867-1875), Lectures on the Origins of Religion (London, 1882) and the introduction to his edition of Sacred Books of the East.

this point of view was partially accepted by M. Monier-Williams and F. N. Farquhar, most Evangelicals felt it was a challenge to battle.<sup>1</sup> The benefits of this challenge are to be observed in the scholarly examination of other religions by figures such as W. H. T. Gairdner, S. M. Zwemer, Duncan B. Macdonald, etc.

Finally to be taken into account are the movements among Christian students and the missionary conferences which nurtured the phenomenon soon known as the "ecumenical movement". This new spirit and form of "World Christianity" gained its first full demonstration at Edinburgh, 1910. Beginning with evangelical principles, this movement became a creative "discussion chamber" responding to the above forces and formulating new apologetical and other missionary approaches. Since both Zwemer and Gairdner actively participated in these student movements and later mission conferences and ecumenical enterprises, careful attention must be paid to such developments. For here too was a force transcending existing denominational lines, requiring re-evaluation of traditional statements, subjecting all to review and revision.<sup>2</sup>

It was soon apparent that nineteenth century traditional theology and ecclesiastical practice would not satisfy the questions of the twentieth century situation. Heavy dependence upon rational evidences and "orthodox" doctrines was not only under attack from many quarters but no longer doing justice to the uniqueness of Christ, the sui generis of Christianity. Evangelicals who had been content to share in the spirit and activity of evangelization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, now faced the unavoidable task of restating the truths of

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Eric F. Sharpe, Not to Destroy But to Fulfil, pp. 43ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. The Student Volunteer Movement After Twenty-Five Years, 1886-1911 (New York, 1912); T. Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement in Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1933); R. Rouse, The World's Student Christian Federation (London, 1948), R. Rouse and S. C. Neill (editors), A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948, (London, 1954), W. R. Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations, A History of the International Missionary Council and its nineteenth-Century Background (New York, 1952); and the various reports and periodicals of the SVM, WSCF, and IMC.



Christianity. They were forced to delve deep into their own denominational beliefs and the Bible itself to rediscover three essential interplaying areas of Christian truth. First, they must redefine the essence of Christianity. For many this meant rediscovering the Christian Message, the Word given by God in Christ. Second, they had to come to a new understanding of a changing World. They had to grapple with both biblical and contemporary ideas of "man" and his religions and the relation of Christianity to world religions and cultures. Third, this meant rethinking the whole task of "mission" or the "Church in mission" in light of changing circumstance. This would be in short, a reformulation of the evangelical "theology of mission", a reshaping which began at about the turn of the century and reached a climax in the crisis in theology and mission at Tambaram, 1938. Up to the turn of the century the Evangelical premises for mission had been widely accepted. This had permitted workers in India to concentrate on "mission methods" and the emerging church. In the more complicated Near Eastern scene, they directed their energies towards the iron triangle of environmental barriers, ecclesiastical relations and the Muslim populace. But at this transitional point in history, radical rethinking of the theological basis for mission was in order. One of the interesting ways to observe this process in action is to examine the life and thought of key participants. Temple Gairdner and Samuel Zwemer provide vivid representation of maturing Anglican and Reformed approaches with reference to Islam in this era of change. Careful examination of their activity and thought will disclose that they preserve the best of nineteenth century effort and yet portray the positive elements of the twentieth century Evangelical understanding of evangelism, the relation of Christianity to Islam, and the Church as agent and object of God's solution.

<sup>1</sup> Sources include: Constance E. Furlong, *Temple Gairdner of Cairo* (London, 1929); W. H. T. G. to his friends. *Some Letters and Internal Writings of Samuel M. H. Temple Gairdner of Cairo, 1872-1922* (ed. by his wife, London, 1930); J. Smith, *In Islam I Go* (Noble Book # 27, London, n.d.); Alfred Nielsen, *William Temple Gairdner* (Copenhagen, 1932); H. A. H. Gibb, "Samuel M. H. T. Gairdner," *E.S.O.A.S.*, 5 (1928), 217; and W. H. T. Gairdner, *M. H. Thornton, A Study in Missionary Ideals and Methods* (London, 1926).

WILLIAM HENRY TEMPLE GAIRDNER (1873-1928): AN ANGLICAN CONTRIBUTION

The Life and Work of Gairdner, A Biographical Sketch

The best of Evangelical Anglican concern for the Muslim world came to reside in the person of Temple Gairdner. In him, one finds reflected the personal compassion of Henry Martyn; the apologetics flowing from Pfander to Lefroy, the concern for the indigenous church evidenced by French and Clark; the scholarly literary labours of Tisdall; and more. His life's activities highlight his right to serve as a representative of Anglican effort among Muslims. Like the majority of his predecessors, he was nurtured in the Evangelical sector of the Church of England and student circles. Other factors warranting attention are: his choice of the strategic intellectual center of Islam (Cairo) and his experimental work in student evangelism and apologetic literature; his participation in the ecumenical movement and research in Islam, the object of his evangelistic endeavors; and his continued combination of sympathetic scholarship and realistic churchmanship which strove towards the goal of a reconciled and reconciling community of Faith, a Church which would witness to the work of God in Christ amidst the world of Islam. These elements stand out in an examination of his life.

The Formative Years

Born in Ardrossan, Ayrshire, Scotland in 1873, William Henry Temple Gairdner inherited two traditions.<sup>1</sup> He gained a breadth of thought and a love of music from

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<sup>1</sup>Sources include: Constance E. Padwick, Temple Gairdner of Cairo (London, 1929); W. H. T. G. to His Friends. Some Letters and Informal Writings of Canon W. H. Temple Gairdner of Cairo, 1873-1928 (ed. by his wife, London, 1930); I. Smith, To Islam I Go (Eagle Book # 17, London, n.d.); Alfred Nielsen, William Temple Gairdner (Copenhagen, 1932); H. A. R. Gibb, "Canon W. H. T. Gairdner," B.S.O.A.S., 5 (1928), 207; and W. H. T. Gairdner, D. M. Thornton, A Study in Missionary Ideals and Methods (London, 1908).

his father, William Gairdner, F.R.C.S., professor of medicine at Glasgow University, who though reared a Unitarian had chosen to be associated with the Church of Scotland. His father had a humanist bent, admired Charles Darwin, and was proud of his broad ethical-religious outlook. But it was the influence of his English mother that appears most dominant in Temple's life. Their correspondence reveals that she conveyed to him a love for the English countryside and distinctly Evangelical sector of the Anglican Church. After schooling at St. Ninians, Moffat (1882), she arranged for his "traditional English education" at Rossall, undoubtedly encouraged his confirmation in the Church of England while at school and his early communions at Glasgow, and may have influenced the choice of a classical education at Trinity College, Oxford (1892).

While at Oxford, Gairdner found his own religious identity. This discovery was made not among those continuing the traditions of the Oxford movement, but among the growing number of Evangelical students on the move in that city. Whereas at Cambridge Evangelical groups had early formed, at Oxford they were not nearly so well received. Their "hallelujahs" and determined witness to the Person and new life in Christ were even considered "crude" by Anglo-Catholics. Yet by 1892 these ardent Evangelicals had formed the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (abbreviated O.I.C.C.U.) which became part of the British College Christian Union (B.C.C.U., later renamed the Student Christian Movement, S.C.M.), which in turn became linked to the World Student Christian Federation (W.S.C.F.). The Oxford members were indeed, "pauperes Christi" selling all in their aggressive concern for the souls of others. For a time, Gairdner remained on the fringe of this circle with their uncalculating devotion, separateness from the world, and zealous evangelism. Sharing the friendship of J. H. Oldham (future secretary of I.M.C.) at Trinity, Gairdner became known as one who always talked for truth, not for victory. Once he remarked, "Man, the only thing in the world worth living for is to find out



the will of God and do it."<sup>1</sup>

It was following the fatal illness of his brother, Hugh, that Gairdner underwent a spiritual crisis resulting in a deepened faith. At the Congress of Unions at Oxford (March, 1893) he experienced the overwhelming presence, "embrace of Christ", and responded in faith. He became a member of one of the "Bible reading" unions and then gradually was drawn into the O.I.C.C.U. His shyness gave way to enthusiastic witness and a "passionate desire for service" as he experienced the meaning of his life-long text, "Behold, I make all things new".<sup>2</sup> At the Keswick Conference (July, 1893) of the newly formed S.V.M.U., he declared himself ready to serve as a missionary if God so willed and established his friendship with Douglas M. Thornton of Cambridge. Complementing each other, these two produced a team effort in missionary ideals until the latter's death, fifteen years hence.<sup>3</sup>

Although now marked as an O.I.C.C.U. man, Gairdner retained his affection for the aesthetic, the weekly Communion and worship in the College chapels. His evangelistic zeal, love for the Church and serious consideration of Biblical criticism defied a party label. He was one who saw the need to fuse evangelistic zeal for the peoples of the earth with loyalty to the historic Catholic heritage. Resisting the shibboleths of the ultra-Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic sectors of the Church, Gairdner sought to reconcile and relate his "energizing experiences" to the full life within the Church. Years later his appreciation for this movement which set potential leaders "on fire" remained:

"On the whole, men who join these more definite and out-and-out bodies usually get somewhere, whereas so many attaches of broader societies get nowhere in particular. You see, these latter try hard to secure a very wide synthesis which is more naturally the fruit of maturity and experience.... Societies like the O.I.C.C.U. make straight for fundamental evangelical

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<sup>1</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, pp. 3ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 17ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Gairdner, D. M. Thornton, passim.

experimental Christianity, and make sure of that. Of course, if this crystallizes and nothing further happens, you are apt to get later on in life the hard, stiff, dogmatic shell-backs....But if only development goes on, then the warm evangelicalism of their origin expands, modifies, mellows, and the result is--power with maturity. The synthesis that such a man attempts later on will very likely have more in it than any precocious one."<sup>1</sup>

Like Thornton, Gairdner served as a traveling secretary of the British College Christian Union, 1897-1899. Under the friendly personalities of John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer and others, Gairdner felt empowered for action. Even the oft misunderstood watchword, "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation" adopted at the Liverpool Conference (1896) gave a healthy direction to student energies. Gairdner later wrote:

"The adopting of this watchword was not, of course, a prophecy that the world would be evangelized in the present generation but simply an affirmation that it might be and should be so evangelized (since every generation of Christians is responsible for evangelizing the world of that generation); and a self-dedication to a life consonant with that faith and that aspiration."<sup>2</sup>

Thornton and Gairdner with the help of Archbishop Frederick Temple and others attempted three significant objectives in these years: to confront the whole church, not just students, with the call to mission; to inaugurate "missionary and bible study" groups for students and churches;<sup>3</sup> and to project the "missionary ideal" into the theological colleges of both Free and Established Churches so that the remaining aloofness of the clergy might be dissolved.<sup>4</sup> Both Thornton and Gairdner, however, felt drawn to Cairo, the intellectual capital of the Muslim world. After Arabic study and ordination (St. Paul's, October, 1898), Thornton went there. Until his own ordination (St. Paul's, October, 1899) and departure for Cairo, Gairdner continued theological studies, and Arabic work under Professor

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Padwick, Gairdner, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Gairdner's Studies in Prayer (1897), Helps to the Study of St. John's Gospel (1898) and Helps to the Study of the Epistle to the Romans (1899).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Padwick, Gairdner, pp. 62ff and D. M. Thornton, pp. 34ff.

Margoliouth.

The Years of Orientation (1899-1902) and Dynamic Teamwork (1902-1908)

Gairdner was accepted by C.M.S. (November 16, 1897) and assigned to work especially "among students and others of the educated classes of Moslems". Upon his departure he wrote these prophetic words to his father:

"Cairo is my destination for the present and perhaps for good. Though I am ready to go further, I have an idea that I shall not go. I believe that Cairo is the important centre: good work done there would certainly be felt in the Sudan. Cairo is the centre of Islam, par excellence. It is to Islam that I go—not to any particular phase of it. My ideal is to become a master of Arabic (an awful aim); and perhaps to help in creating a Christian literature in that tongue; and thus to get at the heart of the problem of Islam. Well, that might easily keep me at Cairo till the end of my days."<sup>1</sup>

These first years were enlivened by friendship with the Thorntons, Arabic study, ordination as priest by Bishop Blyth at Alexandria (1901), marriage at Nazareth to Margaret Mitchell the daughter of a Glasgow physician, and the arrival of the first children. The stabilizing homelife of the Gairdners was filled with music. His collection of Syrian and Egyptian tunes, eventually numbering some 300, became a channel for worship and fellowship throughout his life. With his keen insight into the modes of Eastern music, he wanted the Church to have the best of two worlds, the select music of Europe and the fine native airs of the East.<sup>2</sup> But life in Cairo was not all song. Observing how converts from Islam were tempted by threat and bribe to recant their faith in Christ, he was fully convinced of the demonic forces obstructing the Kingdom of God:

"Some of the surface causes I know, but the psychological history of the whole matter I cannot even imagine. It is Satanic. I never felt as I have this week the fact of the hideous existence of a kingdom of darkness and of evil. It has come down on us like night."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "The Sources of Oriental Music," M.W., 6 (1916) and Oriental Hymn Tunes: Egyptian and Syrian (London, 1930).

<sup>3</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, p. 93.



It was more than "culture shock" that he experienced as he saw the Church as the suffering servant which must sacrifice self in the work of reconciliation. While this cost of discipleship frightened off many potential disciples, it was a "shaking" that would allow the "eternal" to stand.<sup>1</sup>

As they entered fully into their labors, Gairdner and Thornton became an inseparable team. A colleague, Maurice Richmond recalled:

"Their close working friendship recalls historic combinations of men whose twin genius united extensive and intensive, prophecy and scholarship, the world of action and the world of ideas. We think of Luther and Melancthon, of John and Charles Wesley....Thornton was the dauntless Cambridge evangelist, the man who 'thought in continents and archbishops' with prescient vision of opening years before they became visible to others."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner by his intensive scholarly ability could give the prophetic strategy of Thornton the rational clothing necessary for acceptance by others. This "interpreter" later wrote of his comrade:

"An ideal, a vision, was, then absolutely necessary to him. He could not work without it. And it is this that explains the largeness of his views and the magnitude of his schemes....His genius was, then, primarily synthetic rather than analytic, intuitive rather than logical."<sup>3</sup>

These two had a sense of the universality of Christ and of self-abandonment which helped them to identify with Egyptians. Constance Padwick captures the tempo of their teamwork:

"And now Thornton envisaged a great Christian apologetic, saw the types of men to be met, saw the lines of action, secured premises, advertised fiercely, collected an audience, dreamed of a literature, bore down objections, toiled at estimates, wrote appeals, and Gairdner behind him all the time was thinking out the detailed content of that apologetic, pursuing an individual soul with prayer, mastering the niceties of Arabic style and courteous phrase, and above all interpreting his friend and his friend's plans to those who were annoyed or scared at the rush and sweep of their unceasing evolution."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 84f and D. M. Thornton, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>D. M. Thornton, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, p. 129.

They laid the foundations for a dynamic ministry among Copts and Muslims which would make Cairo an evangelistic center. At once they spoke of: evangelistic services, bible classes, training classes for Arab Christian workers, literature for Muslims and schools.<sup>1</sup> Their evangelistic efforts to reach educated Muslims were often experimental.<sup>2</sup> In 1904, they acquired Beit Arabi Pasha, the former dwelling of the revolutionary, a choice location in central Cairo near the colleges, a prime area for reaching both sheikh and effendi classes. Here they lived, sold books, led study groups and worshipped. The discussions following the English/Arabic Bible courses were more than "animated" and on occasion even furniture was broken! The center attracted Muslims of high education, intelligence and national feeling, exhibiting the drawing power of these two men. Extensive use of handbills, the distribution of tracts to holiday makers, and weekend preaching services enlarged the audience. Such persistence, Thornton felt must bear fruit:

"In this way Moslems are unconsciously absorbing principles that are in reality Christian, and often most un-Moslem, the result of which must be made manifest sooner or later."<sup>3</sup>

Gairdner considered this witness provided its own justification:

"If the efforts to evangelize Islam had not resulted in a single conversion, they would have been worth while; for they represented Christianity as a religion that is not afraid, a religion with a message of love and good will evinced in deeds of love and good will."<sup>4</sup>

Beit Arabi Pasha was more than a "coffee-center", however, for here sheikhs and effendis brought heart-searching questions. For those entering the "community of Christ", it was a center of prayerful communion with God. The narrative of convert Sheikh Bulus Fawzi (formerly Mahmud), the son of a Muslim leader and editor in Jerusalem, conveys the meaning of "cross bearing".<sup>5</sup> Gairdner's evangelism was

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<sup>1</sup>D. M. Thornton, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. above, pp. 274 ff.

<sup>3</sup>D. M. Thornton, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 139-142; D. M. Thornton, pp. 200ff.

far too complex to be caricatured. His preaching and personal work reveals one who was both a patient shepherd and a stern disciplinarian:

"He was far too respectful to the human soul to bludgeon men, though his rapier thrusts at conscience could be keen enough....For whatever phrases men might miss from his preaching, none with ears could miss Christ and Him crucified....He could never be a demagogue, but the deeper a man's spiritual capacity the more did he find in Gairdner's preaching, which came from the depths of his own life and called to the deeps in other men."<sup>1</sup>

Yet he was under no illusions as to how long the work must continue:

"Do not think that moral transformation is quickly reached. I feel that if we can set up a new standard of integrity, of truth, in these men, that alone is a work of even national importance....The Eastern mind moves theologically much more quickly than it does ethically. Only gradually does the infinitely high standard of Christian holiness make itself felt, and if it is not seen in those Christians with whom the catechumen has to deal, it will not be deeply felt at all. And as the new ideals grapple with the old habits, through what travail, what struggles, what anguish, what tears is the Kingdom of God won!"<sup>2</sup>

The pen of Gairdner was soon an instrument of Christian apologetics. This was a natural channel for former student secretaries and appealed likewise to Egypt's intelligentsia. Thornton, the pragmatic experimenter, attempted to determine what were the appropriate materials, then Gairdner tackled the writing and polishing of succinct articles and tracts. Thus leaflets were printed by the thousands advertizing their lectures, answering wearisome and routine Muslim objections, and simply presenting the Christian Message. While unashamedly writing in an apologetic vein, Gairdner aimed to "humanize" his writings (hence the later use of drama, music, poetry) so as to win men and not defeat antagonists. Traveling to England (1904), the pair convinced the C.M.S. Committee to approve their "literary campaign for Christ" in Cairo. They received backing for their Anglo-Arabic magazine, Orient and Occident which first appeared January 5th, 1905. Soon 3,000 subscribers, a large circulation for the time, became their "parishioners". Thornton describes their effort at a balanced diet:

"The scope of the magazine as we wish it to be and as it has already in some degree proved to be, is somewhat as follows: First and foremost, the

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<sup>1</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Ibid., pp. 142f.



promotion of the knowledge of the Word of God by means of short self-contained extracts, such as an Old Testament story or New Testament parable or miracle, or act of Christ, together with a short and simple study of the passage, adapted in thought and language to all readers....Secondly, articles of a definitely religious stamp, such as meditations on fundamental truths of the Christian faith, dialogues, apologetic of the faith....Thirdly, articles of a more general moral interest, such as such accounts of men who, anywhere and at any time have benefited their generation and stood for righteousness. Fourthly, articles of social interest, as the conditions of the time, national progress, the education and reverence for women....This section includes reports of addresses and debates held weekly at our house."<sup>1</sup>

Gairdner's considerable output reveals a writer probing to the basic fundamentals of faith and life, ever seeking to be appealing and fair in his discussions.<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner and Thornton now became more involved with the churches. As both friends and critics of the "ingrown" Coptic Orthodox Church, they worked more directly with the laity than earlier C.M.S. efforts, encouraging biblical exposition and the revived "societies" within the Church. Thornton conducted three tours in upper Egypt shortly before his death, holding rallies in Coptic Churches which successfully drew large assemblies of Copts, Evangelicals and Muslims.<sup>3</sup> The prevailing spirit of cooperation with Presbyterians is seen in that C.M.S. provided hospitality for the Cairo Conference of Missionaries to Muslims (1906) at Beit Arabi Pasha. This conference brought together 62 missionaries of 29 societies under the leadership of Samuel Zwemer to stimulate not only the spirit of fellowship, but greater concern for Islam, the formation of a central Literature Committee, a specialized training program for missionaries to Muslims in Cairo, and an educational scheme for qualified converts from Islam. This prompted the Pan-Anglican Conference (1908) to add the topic of "Islam" to its revised agenda. Gairdner contended that the "Muslim Problem" (Unitarian Deism) should force the whole Church to rework her theology in terms both experiential and comprehensible for

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<sup>1</sup>D.M. Thornton, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup>For a selection of Gairdner's works cf. Appendix F.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. D. M. Thornton, pp. 255-273.

the Arab still under Islam.<sup>1</sup> Although the Anglican Church in Egypt was small in this decade, the number of converts from Islam was increasing rapidly. Perhaps these years of hard work, close friendship and family life were the happiest in Gairdner's life. While the death of Thornton (September 8, 1907) severely tested Gairdner, he now emerges as a scholar and leader in his own right.

As Missionary Spokesman and Scholar-at-Large, 1908-1911

In the summer of 1908, Gairdner spoke at the Pan-Anglican Congress held in England. He believed that the great denials of Islam could produce a Christian apologetics giving an enriched presentation of Christ and His Kingdom:

"Christendom, as represented by some writers, scarcely realizes its heritage, scarcely realizes that Christ has once and for all differentiated between physical and moral power. Who can tell what moral results shall accrue; both in East and West, when we shall have allowed the Cross to dominate our philosophy and theology as well as our devotional life! Who shall gauge the debt we may yet have to confess if that great antagonist prove finally to have compelled us to explore unknown depths of the riches of the revelation of the Triune God."<sup>2</sup>

Two of Gairdner's most significant books: D. M. Thornton and The Reproach of Islam were speedily written in this summer. The latter, developing the above theme, was widely read and appeared in a revised edition as The Rebuke of Islam (1920). Returning to Egypt in a time when both Muslims and Copts were equally astir with a surging nationalism, he was soon lecturing to audiences of students and others as large as one thousand. Meanwhile there were devotional meetings for Christian workers, the Orient and Occident, inquirers' calls and classes, services in Coptic and Anglican Churches, inter-mission rallies and the revision of the hymnal. Significant was his participation in a Cairo Debating Society (sometimes called the Anarchists), a group of educated young men tackling the burning issues of the hour. One of Gairdner's papers, "Queer Roads to Optimism in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Thought" deals with H. G. Wells' idea of social evolution.

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<sup>1</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, pp. 160ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 179f.

Gairdner rejects this way to social salvation on the grounds that any philosophy which denies or neglects the fact of sin can hardly alleviate man's situation. His own reconciliation of scientific methodology and the Christian view of the world received more conclusive treatment in his booklet, "Science and Faith in Whom?" After five years of personal struggle with this subject, Gairdner takes a provocative line of thought which in some aspects (e.g. awareness of the burden of evil) is an anticipation of the neo-evangelical development in post war Europe. Certainly it is in contrast to the optimistic views of man, society, progress, fulfillment via evolutionary process so widespread at the time.<sup>1</sup>

Commissioned to attend the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (June 13-23, 1910) to prepare a popular report for the church worldwide, Gairdner found himself amidst friends such as Oldham, Zwemer, etc. At Iona, he produced a reflective summary, Edinburgh, 1910 which was published in September. The debate that was beginning to broil at Edinburgh, especially between such figures as J. N. Farquhar and the D. S. Cairns-A. G. Hogg team under Commission IV, must have made a deep impression on Gairdner. This must be given fuller treatment under the development of his own apologetic approach.<sup>2</sup>

At Canon MacInnes' urging, C.M.S. granted Gairdner a year's leave of absence to advance his study of Islamic and Arabic literature. Gairdner first spent three months in Potsdam, Germany examining the varied German literature on Islamic topics. His contacts with two Turkish Sheikhs there yielded a pamphlet, The Way of a Mohammedan Mystic. Next he went to Hartford Theological Seminary (America) to study Arabic phonetics and Islamic theology in consultation with Professor Duncan B. Macdonald. The third part of his tour took him again to Europe (Leiden, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Berlin) where his acquaintances with Snouck Hurgronje and Ignaz Goldziher yielded rich rewards. They were appreciative of his exactness and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 193ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. below pp. 342 ff.



he of the "unassuming" nature of these famous scholars. Then it was back to Aleppo and Cairo and the "crush" of field work.<sup>1</sup>

The Mechanics of Missions, 1911-1919

The hope to serve as "research missionary" was partially eclipsed as Gairdner was caught up in three spheres of endeavor: The Mission Secretariat, the teaching of Arabic and Islamics, and the affectionate shepherding of the Anglican Church in Egypt. Yet perhaps the strength of his contribution is that it was made amidst, rather than aside from, his service "in mission". The vortex of mission life demanded his full energies. Already by 1912, he suggested that R. McNeille might become the scholar par excellence inasmuch as the young Church required his own time.

"Take the work of classes for catechumens and converts, and the whole work in general of building up what God has already given us. It is an enormously important, necessary, exacting, time-expensive branch of work. It is morally our first duty. It is, moreover, work that no novice can do....It is work, in short, that every week and every day falls on me....With all my heart I could have gone in for the research work, and I feel that I might have done some decent work in it. But I think it is not to be."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner discovered in 1914 that reactionary Muslims had organized a heavily financed program for luring converts back to Islam. In this critical hour only the application of "discipline" saved the infant church. A pamphlet, The Anglican and Coptic Communions in Egypt (1914) spells out Gairdner's plan for aiding the latter, a policy officially adopted by Bishops McInnes and Gwynne. Research was not completely effaced as Gairdner concentrated his study on Al-Ghazali and produced his first critical article in Der Islam (1914). Later at the suggestion of Professor Margoliouth of Oxford, Gairdner published his translation of Mishkāt al-Anwār (A Niche for Lights, 1923).

Stimulated by the Conferences of Cairo (1906) and Edinburgh (1910), Zwemer

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<sup>1</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, pp. 196ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

and Gairdner jointly proceeded to develop the Cairo Study Center (1912) for giving specialized training to missionaries. This cooperative project of five Missions later became the School of Oriental Studies (1920) in the American University of Cairo. Teaching here Gairdner earned respect for a brilliant mind, a mastery of Arabic, a keen interpretation of Islamic literature and a sense of the poetic. Arthur Jeffery, a colleague at the School remarked:

"...while reading the text with the class he would throw in a wealth of illustration. He excelled in discovering felicitous translations. I remember reading Quran with him, and the joy it was to have him start up in excitement and bring forth a new rendering of some obscure phrase where Rodwell and Co. had made a hopeless mess. He was the one first-class mind we had."<sup>1</sup>

While not loving the technical work, Gairdner felt it a vital task to be done. This talented figure revolutionized the teaching of Arabic by tackling the spoken colloquial before the literary classical form, setting forth his approach in two Conversation-Grammars and a Handbook on Phonetics. H. A. R. Gibb, then a lecturer at the London School of Oriental Studies and later Professor of Arabic at Oxford and Harvard, wrote:

"The first edition of his "Conversation Grammar" of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (1917) would have satisfied the ambition of most men, but it was like Gairdner to be dissatisfied until a second edition (1926), completely revised and rewritten perfected the work."<sup>2</sup>

His Phonetics of Arabic in use after 1912 was published only in 1925. Contact with Professor Louis Massignon of the Collège de France brought great joy to Gairdner, that deep devotion to Christ which lifted scholarship to new heights.<sup>3</sup>

One task which Gairdner did not relish and for which he was ill-suited was that of Mission Secretary (1914-1919). While he was a scholar of note and a fine spiritual leader, he was not a natural administrator geared to the transactions and personnel problems of an organization. Yet as senior worker he bore this

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 231f.

office until relieved, even producing a Scheme for the Policy of the Mission (1916), a sorely needed revision of the program.<sup>1</sup>

The Church and Her Mission, 1918-1928

Gairdner's experiments in the medium of drama reveal how he adapted poetic and musical talent to apologetic service.<sup>2</sup> While attending the Oberammergau Passion Play, he saw new possibilities:

"The play is the self-expression of a Christian community representing in action that which is the subject of all their thinking and living."<sup>3</sup> In postwar Cairo he began to dash off his dramatizations of Biblical narratives capturing his inspiration in the picturesque and musical. Between 1921 and 1925, there came Joseph and His Brothers; Passover Night; The Last Passover Night; Saul and Stephen; The Good Samaritan; and King Hezekiah. In Egypt as in India, the people have a natural affinity for drama, a medium appealing to both illiterate villager and educated. Upon the counsel of Bishop Gwynne, the first play was presented "in the Church" with prayers and hymns replacing applause. Five presentations of Joseph drew nearly two thousand Muslims and Christians into this atmosphere of reverence and Gairdner gained new hopefulness that Egypt might see the Gospel. But this medium was in advance of C.M.S. supporters at home. The Committee fearful that gifts might be withheld, confined the use of drama to hospitals, schools, etc., thus nipping Gairdner's creative venture in the bud.

Realizing that the future depended upon an Egyptian Anglican Church equipped for her task in the midst of Islam, Gairdner's objective was to attain for it a well-balanced life, rich in worship, song, fellowship, healing and witness. Avoiding party labels, he aimed to create a liturgy which might express "the beauty

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 244f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. W.H.T.G. to his Friends, pp. 159-173.

<sup>3</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, pp. 201f.



of holiness and the holiness of beauty". His services were extremely devotional (with him prostrate before the Communion in oriental fashion on occasion) and yet equally spontaneous. He borrowed freely from practices observed in America and Europe that the Arab Church might know the "drama" of worship. Continuously re-writing the various liturgical services, he demonstrated a flexibility and freedom the worshipper immediately sensed. The last structure in which the Cairo congregation worshipped under Gairdner was the Church of the Saviour at Boulac, a semi-Byzantine building with simplified interior. Gairdner felt the sanctuary must be consistent with the poverty of the people (Boulac was a slum district) and the congregation's mission in the community. Painstaking preparation and a strong prayer life stood behind Gairdner's skill in leading men into the Presence of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

To keep the young Arab Church alive to its responsibility to Muslims, Gairdner helped them draft their "Working Principles" (1925) declaring their prime mission was to the Muslim world and to the sisterly care of other Christian communions. Approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, this was a step towards the ordination of Arabs, e.g. Girgis Bishai, et al. C.M.S., having revised its policy in Egypt (ca. 1921), pressed now for the establishment of the Arabic Anglican Church. Gairdner noted:

"We now decided to have one real shot at getting on: to take stock of our members, quasi-members, adherents, see who was who, have a campaign of explaining what the Anglican Church is, what it stands for in Egypt, what is its order, liturgy, aim, spirit: regularize, take hold, take stock, rekindle, and finally ordain the first Egyptian pastor, as a first step towards building up a really indigenous non-foreign Church....[again he wrote] the grand aim should be to raise up a truly militant, evangelical and therefore evangelistic Church, however small, a truly Catholic Church with power to absorb and unify the most diverse elements, and gifted with historical order and reverent, inspiring and liturgical services."<sup>2</sup>

"Mission" came first for Gairdner according to Ysef Effendi Tadros:

"No one else taught us as he did. Other teachers taught us how to refute Islam; he taught us how to love Muslims. He made us feel we understood them

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 280ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 263f.

and felt with them. When he told us about the beginnings of Islam, we felt as if we were sons of that time and knew the first Muslims."<sup>1</sup>

As the years wore on, Gairdner realized that the redemption and the growth of the Church was perhaps more important than his production of literature. For only as the Church reached out and drew men in, demonstrating the new brotherhood in Christ, could Muslims be won. Only as it provided a warm spiritual home for inquirers and converts could the work thrive. His energies were hence directed towards creating this sense of "community of reconciliation", a Church continually learning of Christ. In a time when personal and national interests dictated otherwise, it was not easy to weld Egyptians, Syrians, and Europeans together in faith and worship. Yet he sought this by his series of Arabic leaflets on the Christian duties and lessons on Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, etc. In addition to emphasizing the lowering of "partitions", his Arabic Commentary on Galatians inaugurated a badly needed biblical literature for the young church. Of one of his last papers, "The Egyptian Church as a Home for Christ's Converts from Islam" he said to a friend:

"If I die before you, promise me that you will give what I said then as my last message to the Egyptian Church. It is far the most important thing I ever wrote."<sup>2</sup>

Very early Gairdner had pressed for a wider fellowship of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council in which each participant must positively contribute out of their strengths and not simply reduce fellowship to the lowest common denominator.

Fresh on the field he had written:

"It takes faith, believing in Christ, His Church and ministry, here in this Moslem city. But on my word, it takes more faith to believe in these when one thinks of the Church itself as it exists here--sect upon sect, each more intolerant than its neighbor, each practically excommunicating the others in the name of the One Lord--and that in the face of an Islam which loathes all alike. It makes one feel passionately careless of ecclesiastical or doctrinal niceties and simply desirous to do something to promote spirituality and righteousness here in Egypt. 'The Church of Christ'--shades of Paul, of John, of Athanasius! O Lord, how long? And why is it that this grotesque travesty mocks these names and Thee and tempts us to feel that all is and has been empty?"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 276.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 266f.

Before long he shared the hopeful expectation of Edinburgh, 1910:

"Unity when it comes must be something richer, grander, more comprehensive than anything which we can see at present. It is something into which and up to which we must grow, something of which and for which we must become worthy. We need to have sufficient faith in God to believe that He can bring us to something higher and more Christ like than anything to which we at present see a way."<sup>1</sup>

At a Scottish Missionary Conference in Glasgow (1922), he spoke on Brotherhood, Islam's or Christ's driving home the theme that only as Christ's is realized can the Muslim world be won:

"The brotherhood which Christ brought to earth is infinite and unlimited, but Christians have limited and particularized it. The brotherhood of Islam is finite and limited, but such as it is Mohammedans have universalized it. Not until the perfect thing is once more available and offered to Mohammedans can Islam's imperfect thing pass away."<sup>2</sup>

At the Conferences at Helwan (1924) and at the Mt. of Olives, Jerusalem (1924), Gairdner's stress was that the future depended more upon the Church's life and spirit than upon any special method. J. R. Mott especially appreciated the depth of this devotional leader. In the summer of 1927, Gairdner was requested to prepare a paper for the World Missionary Council in Jerusalem (1928). Whether because of his slipping health or his distrust for the heavy emphasis being placed upon "comparative religion" and values, Gairdner was curiously reluctant to take the job. Only when he was given a younger co-author, W. A. Eddy did he see fit to continue on. Even so, The Values of Christianity and Islam is not a creative work, but a summary of Gairdner's earlier writings. One might suspect that the strong evangelistic-apologetic materials of Gairdner over the past nineteen years were reclothed to fit the schema of the meeting and simply signed by an "exhausted man". Indeed dental sepsis which later developed into fatal septic lung complications had been at its deadly work for some time before detected (about November, 1927). Gairdner faced a painful death (May 22, 1928) in the sorrow and the joy of the

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner, Edinburgh, 1910 (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 203.

<sup>2</sup>Padwick, Gairdner, pp. 275f.



Crucifixion and Resurrection. Thus was the "exodus" made from Egypt to the New Jerusalem by one who was optimistic about the Church's Life and Mission to Islam:

"It is sometimes said that little mission churches will be as islands in the sea of Islam—but let us not be enslaved by dreary metaphors. Let us rather say that such churches will be centres of life and heat and light, serving and saving the Islamic peoples round them."<sup>1</sup>

#### An Examination of the Thought and Contributions of Gairdner

The main contributions of Gairdner, as well as Zwemer, towards the formation of a maturer approach to Muslims revolves about three focal points: evangelism, Islam, and the Church. By the turn of the century, the uniqueness of Christianity, hence the validity of evangelism, was being called into question by some in the West. This changing theological climate required clarification as to the "essence" of Christianity and its mission. Yet in the case of both Gairdner and Zwemer, a confident reliance upon God's revelation in Christ underlies their firm resolve and action in the realms of apologetics and proclamation. Next, these two men were able to make advances towards a sympathetic understanding of Islam and the crucial question of Christianity's relation to it without fear of compromising their mission and message. This positive new attitude was due perhaps both to the lessons learned by their nineteenth century forerunners and to their own awareness of the Sovereignty and Grace of God. Religious-nationalistic stirrings among educated Arabs undoubtedly gave added impetus to this sympathetic scholarship. A third point concerned the relationship between the life and mission of the Church. Earlier missionaries had been able to avoid certain thorny ecclesiastical issues, but the appearance of younger churches not only progressively narrowed the gulf between "mission" and "theology" but made the reshaping of a "theology of mission" most urgent. These churches in the field must be aware of their ecumenical nature and apostolic task if they were to survive and succeed.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 276f.

For the purposes of this study, it is convenient to examine the contributions of Gairdner in these three overlapping spheres.

### Gairdner's Understanding of Evangelism

Gairdner had definite ideas as to the substance of the Evangel and the theory and practice of evangelism. For Gairdner the content of the Gospel is Christ and evangelism the communication of Him. Although not opposed to the idea of general revelation (hence one can be cognizant of something of worth in other religions), he was under no illusion as to the distinctiveness, the uniqueness of God's work and word in His Messiah. During his whole ministry, Gairdner held that it was only in Jesus Christ that man can enter into a right relationship with God and experience the full life for which he was created. "The Essentiality of the Cross" an article in the first issue of Orient and Occident (1905) discloses Gairdner's position. It appears that a Cairo newspaper had studied popular Western literature and concluded that Christianity like Islam and Judaism was only concerned with "monotheism, morality and ethics". While agreeing that Jesus set forth a personal and social morality which has never been surpassed, Gairdner will not stop there;

"But all that was not the whole of the work of Jesus, nor the whole of the good news which He heralded....But in fact the real work of Jesus Christ was to introduce into the world--to make available for humanity--a fund of life capable of producing as fruit this 'morality and ethics' indefinitely, all down the ages, until the dawn of eternity. It seems incredible that it should be possible to say that anything is more wonderful or more precious or more necessary than what Jesus taught. And yet so it is. What He did was more wonderful or more precious or more necessary; and for this reason--that thereby the soul is enabled to penetrate to the heart of that 'One God,' and bring forth the fruit of that 'morality and ethics,' a nobler name for which is Holiness."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Reprinted in M.W., 23 (1933), pp. 230f.

Gairdner contends that Christianity is more than the highest "ethical system" and that Jesus is more than the "Ideal" ('beyond history') or the "historical figure" (deduced by critical studies). The Christian Faith centers upon the inseparable Person and Work of Christ and only in a personal faith-relationship with Christ does man come to know and live in communion with the God who acts in history. It is important to keep this in mind when reading the Gairdner-Eddy article in the Jerusalem Report (1928).<sup>1</sup> While Gairdner did not deny the "values" in other religious systems, it is only in Christ and not in some vague perception of "truth(s)" that man comes into a right relation with God. At this point he would have agreed with Bonhoeffer that the ultimate question is "Who" (personal encounter), not "What" (the attainment of right knowledge) or "How" (the understanding of historical or even redemptive processes).<sup>2</sup> Only in obedient faith in Christ as Lord and Saviour does man experience the "new life". Jesus disclosed that God is a reality far different than "religious man" thought. The Creator is a "Father" who requires of men a "New Law" of Love (stressing relationships). Christ is God's "Wakeel", one with executive authority in his very person:

"...His teaching was not simply one of 'monotheism, ethics, and morals,' but proved the exact contrary, viz: that His own personality was of central importance in the religion of this complete revelation of God, which He came to unfold, and that His death was of central importance in regard to that personality. Let us go on....We shall show the relation between the Kingdom of God and the death of the Anointed King--thus combining into one the two themes."<sup>3</sup>

The Kingdom (an organization rooted in heaven and appearing on earth as a body of renewed men and women) is entered only as men experience "re-birth, spiritual birth" through accepting and obeying "the Wakeel of unseen Deity". Wisely avoiding such terms as "ibn Allah" (Son of God) which blind Muslims to the truth being

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. below pp. 346f f. and Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Gairdner's Science and Faith in Whom? (1910) and D. Bonhoeffer, Christology (trans. John Bowden, London, 1966), pp. 27ff.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in M.W. 23 (1933), p. 235.



presented, Gairdner proceeds to show how the sacrificial death of the "Wakeel" is consistent with God's plan. Although the Crucifixion was an abhorrent idea for Jews (as for Muslims), the disciples gradually saw it as the supreme "manifestation of divine energy" (Mk. 12:1-12) resulting in "a glorified renewal of life and power: the vindication of that Messiah-King...victory, final and infinite: divine power, released without limit, eternally available".<sup>1</sup> Thus the Cross is:

"the dynamo which created and made available a spiritual power that gave to 'monotheism' a new significance and transformed 'morality and ethics' from a teaching, a theory, a philosophy, into a life."<sup>2</sup>

Jesus is no mild teacher and prophet untouched by the world, but the Saviour-King living on in the midst of the historical process. Following the Resurrection, He is the glorified Lord who sustains the Church's life and commits to her the preaching of "repentance and forgiveness of sins in His name" throughout the world. History henceforth revolves about the Cross (that redemptive if unutterable Deed) and the Christ who towers over all. He urges the reader to openly identify himself with the Christ assured that if He could transform Saul of Tarsus, He can do the same for the talented graduate of al-Azhar!<sup>3</sup> Gairdner believed that man's understanding of God is Christo-centric in content and must be so in presentation. Thus when he looks at Islam, he often goes straight at its "doctrine of God" (the heart of any religion, shaping its Weltanschauung). Yet when comparing or contrasting it with Christianity, he never speaks of God except as known "in Christ".<sup>4</sup>

Mission strategy received serious attention by Gairdner in D. M. Thornton: A Study of Missionary Ideals and Methods (1908).<sup>5</sup> This primary contribution to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 238

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>4</sup>E.g. cf. "The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam," (articles reprinted from I.R.M. of 1912 in volume with same title, London, 1915), pp. 11-44.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. above pp. 274ff.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 60.

the science of mission was modified only slightly as he later devoted more attention to research in Islamics and the nurture of the Egyptian Church. He was well enough versed in missiology to challenge Roland Allen's hasty charges that Islam was superior both in "methods" and "results".<sup>1</sup> Allen, uncritically accepting the premises of Dr. Blyden (1887) and Professor Westermann (1912), had painted a glowing picture of Muslim advances in Africa:

"Islam is propagated spontaneously and voluntarily; it is maintained by self-support: it imposes no restrictions whatsoever on those who become Moslems--all are welcomed; and thus it forms a true African Church...."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner knew both the Sudan and Islam better than Allen who had spent many years in China. After an extensive survey, Gairdner makes a critical response. He undercuts the myth that Islam is indigenous by revealing how foreign its "clothes, Book, language, customs, effect on tribal life" are. Likewise its morality is not superior simply because it accommodates itself to existing patterns. Christianity is creating the basis for a new nation and a new leadership and not simply perpetuating the tribal system. As in Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours, Allen demands that foreign societies end their imperial methods and be replaced by African churches which are self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating. He adds:

"sincere desire and the simplest faith should qualify for immediate baptism: and the Holy Spirit should be trusted, unreservedly and fearlessly trusted, to carry these immature converts forward into maturity; to preserve and stabilize the Church; and to bring it through the inevitable state of danger, of heresies and moral collapses, which were not evitable in Corinth and will not be evitable in Africa, but which were dealt with in Corinth by quite a different method from that which seems to be the only possible method in Africa today."<sup>3</sup>

While agreeing with Allen's ideas of "admission" and evangelization via national

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. R. Allen, "Islam and Christianity in the Sudan," I.R.M., 9 (1920), 531-543; W. H. T. Gairdner, "Islam in Africa: The Sequel to a Challenge," I.R.M., 13 (1924), 3-25; and Professor Westermann's earlier article in I.R.M., 1 (1912).

<sup>2</sup>Gairdner, "Islam in Africa," pp. 5f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 6f.

Christians, Gairdner takes issue with his charges against "foreign" Christians. Gairdner stresses that overseas workers have a "continuing task" of offering mutual encouragement to the national churches "in mission". If the "Three Selves" principle is pressed to the ultimate, it leaves the new church in isolation, cut off from its truly catholic life. At this point, Gairdner envisaged a Church in which national and "foreigner" work together in true brotherhood, in a spirit of genuine equality.<sup>1</sup> If one wants to attack the barriers to Christianity's advance in Africa, suggests Gairdner, one must strike at that limited concept of mission which fails to involve the "laity", and at European administrators who disgustingly apply the Roman policy of ruling via the established system (often Muslims who have gained control over pagan regions). To maintain the status quo, these administrators prefer "aloof Muslims" over Christian Africans who expect to be treated as equals, who desire reform which might threaten the administrator's role. Nevertheless the Christian Faith offers to Africans the greatest social advancement, dignity and learning, a truly new way of life. The Church's role in Africa is not to be so underestimated!

How did Gairdner actually implement his methodology in practice? Examination of his effort in five areas should sufficiently illustrate this. First, consider his contributions to apologetic literature. The growth of apologetics can be traced in the student Christian movements, especially the W.S.C.F.<sup>2</sup> These distinctly Evangelical bodies (with their activistic rather than creedal emphasis) entered into serious discussion as their student evangelization expanded overseas,

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note how the Communists in China used the "Three Selves Movement" to isolate, then destroy the Church. Bishop Stephen Neill and Bishop A. R. Tucker of Uganda (1890-1908) fully agree with Gairdner, cf. Neill, History of Christian Missions, pp. 257-260. Also cf. P. Beyerhaus, "The Three Selves Formula," I.R.M., 53 (1964), 393ff.

<sup>2</sup>The Student Volunteer Movement was founded in the U.S.A. by Robert Wilder and others (1886) soon to be followed by the Y.M.C.A. and the British College Christian Union. These gave birth to the World Student Christian Federation (ca. 1895).



encountering resurgent religions, nationalism and the agnosticism stimulated by western education. Christian missionaries were also struggling with their own theology in light of the new scientific approach to religion and the growth of literary and historical criticism. At the Tokyo Conference (W.S.C.F.) in 1907, the question was raised: "Apologetics or Evangelism?" Some felt that the older pattern of simply presenting Christ, leading men to him was no longer adequate in light of the new circumstances. The idea of "apologetics", the removal of hindrances to the acceptance of the Christian Faith by means of a reasoned intellectual discussion of existing problems, caught on in many circles.<sup>1</sup> Apologetics was not confined however to a defense of the Gospel, it also meant "communication of Christ" for most Evangelicals. While Gairdner was certainly alerted to these developments, he remains heir to the long standing Anglican apologetics for Muslims developed by Martyn, French, Lefroy and Tisdall. Gairdner went to Cairo committed to creating a Christian literature for educated Muslims. Remarkably achieving that goal, he prepared over a score of Arabic works before his death. It is interesting to note two stages in his writing. Up to about 1912, these are of two types. There were biographical presentations of Joseph, Abraham, Isaac, O.T. prophets, the Messiah, Paul, etc. in the eminent tradition of Alexander Whyte. After 1912, this continues in his dramatic sketches. Also there were apologetic writings which retained traces of the older "controversial" methods of the past, e.g. the "dialogue" technique of Christian apologetists to Judaism, Raymond Lull, et al. This struggle to prove Christianity as the superior system is seen in Ahmad and Bulus (1906), The Gospel of Barnabas (1907), and What Happened before the Hegira?

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<sup>1</sup>Even Dr. J. R. Mott at the Zeist Conference (1905) admitted that the apologetical approach may be necessary to remove philosophical and scientific barriers for students prior to evangelism in some cases. It was at this same time that J. N. Farquhar, the W.S.C.F. resource person on India, developed his "fulfillment" concept in answer to "scientific religion", "religious nationalism" and his own Evangelical convictions. Cf. Sharpe, Not to Destroy, pp. 228-271 and R. Rouse, The World's Student Christian Federation (London, 1948), passim.

(1908). While the agreement that "polemics" must be abandoned (registered at the Cairo Conference, 1906) is reflected in Inspiration, A Dialogue (1909) and The Eucharist as Historical Evidence (1910), Gairdner is still pitting Islamic and Christian ideas against each other through comparison. It is significant that Gairdner's more positive presentations begin about 1912-1916. His new irenic approach reflects a fresh awareness of Muslim positions and attitudes and strives to communicate Christ without offending Islam. Even the titles reflect this advance in method:

Aspects of the Redemptive Act of Christ (1916)

God as Triune, Incarnate, Atoner (1916)

The Last Supper (1919)

The Secret of Life (1924)

The Divinity of Christ (1924)

Who is the Founder of Christianity? (1927)

This remarkable development is evident in an article, "The Doctrine of the Unity in Trinity" (I.R.M.). In the first part appearing in 1911, Gairdner is sweating to answer every Muslim objection in a defensive battle. The second and third parts (1916) however breathe with a reasonableness which would prove attractive to anyone. One can conclude that Gairdner like the Church at large had to work his way through this tense adjustment period until he settled down to prepare a literature that "communicated" Christ more effectively to Muslims.

Second, Gairdner was committed to preaching and dialogue. There was no substitute for "speech" in working and living amid the students and educated Muslims of Cairo. While it is difficult to recover Gairdner's efforts in this line, accounts of his lectures at Beit Arabi Pasha, conversations in the bookshop, discussions in the student societies and sermons indicate that Gairdner spoke with a "sustaining power" (if not quite the dramatic possessed by Thornton).<sup>1</sup> Gairdner revealed ability to reach the effendi class who were torn between traditional Islam and the

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. accounts in Egyptian Studies; Science and Faith in Whom?; and reports in the Orient and Occident.

sceptical-naturalistic outlook of western type education. He would begin with a non-religious address or topic and go on to cultivate a rich acquaintance that gradually conquered suspicion. These young men frequently responded by attending the services Gairdner led and evidencing affection for Christian ideas.<sup>1</sup>

Drama was not simply a third channel for Gairdner, it was the natural means by which the Christian community (not simply the missionary specialist) could convey the basis of their Faith and Life. His biblical dramas are apologetic in the sense that they corrected Muslim misconceptions of biblical accounts. In Joseph and His Brothers (4 acts, 72 pages, 1921), the speeches follow the Scriptural text without change. Gairdner wrote in the preface:

"Though this play was written for acting, and with actual representation in mind all the time, it is hoped that it may also serve as sort of Bible-study on the Genesis narrative, and stimulate anew both the study and the teaching of the deathless tale."

Meticulous attention to staging and costumes helped establish the historical atmosphere of ancient Egypt. The human characteristics of hatred, sin and greed are emphasized to show the need for the reconciliation based on forgiveness. Only on this basis does man know the peace and benediction of God. One can sense the setting that reportedly led part of the audience to "joyful tears". In The Passover Night (3 scenes, 24 pages, 1921), the impact of the ten plagues upon two ordinary Israelite and Egyptian families encourages the audience to identify and participate in this tragic-redemptive event clearly interpreted as a symbolic prophecy of the Cross of Christ. The reoccurring theme is redemption "by the blood", "The Lamb of God! who redeemed me!" and concludes on the note of liberation and the praise of God, "Hosanna". Saul and Stephen (3 acts, 53 pages, 1921) sets the news of the Resurrection in the midst of the infant Church. Moving from the death of Stephen to the conversion of Saul, it describes for the Muslim-Coptic audience how the power

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. "Work Among the Educated Moslems in Cairo," by Gairdner in Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems (New York, 1906), ch. 4.



of the Risen Christ is able to sustain the Church in spite of suffering and persecution. This message so relevant to the Egyptian Church concludes again on forgiveness, peace and praise. The preface reads:

"Persecution by inquisition is a dreadful business in any period or at any time. How smoothly we glide over the familiar texts which describe the first Inquisition when it forms part of 'the passage appointed for the Epistle' or 'the Second Lesson'! It is not until some occasion like a dramatization forces us to interrogate those texts that they yield to us their terrible reality. But may we not for that very reason add that it is just thus that we may come more fully to realize the length, breadth, height and depth of the grace which purged such guilt away, and which made out of the fanatical and cruel Inquisitor the Apostle of Faith, Hope and Love?"

The Last Passover Night (1921) and The Good Samaritan (1923) also portray N.T. accounts. King Hezekiah (1923), a tragical drama, is his most complex play and even employs "voices" (a type of Greek Chorus) which echo and interpret the unseen thoughts of the characters and the deity. Driving home the consequences befalling a nation which continues to violate God's direction, this play concludes with the dramatic deliverance by God of his people ("remnant") as Isaiah prophecies the coming King, "Immanuel, God with us!" By 1923, "religious drama" was gaining a place even at the Old Vic in London. It is regretted that this medium did not gain "permitted" usage in the churches of Egypt. Nevertheless these dramatic biblical accounts reveal a skillful author striving to allow God's Word to speak to a Near Eastern audience via a national Christian cast. His objective was to stimulate the whole church to witness to the great themes of redemptive history, events pointing to their culmination in Christ. Later in the century, Miss Joyce Peel would successfully develop this method of communication in the villages of South India, appealing to illiterate and educated alike.

Fourthly, Gairdner like Julius Richter, Robert Bruce and others saw the need for a preparatory work which would create a receptiveness for the Gospel within Islam. In many cases this fostering of contacts, cultivation of friendship, must precede "presentation" if the Gospel is to gain a hearing.<sup>1</sup> Roman Catholic

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<sup>1</sup>Richter, Missions in the Near East, pp. 83-87.

"White Fathers" were making similar effort to overcome age-old suspicions and fears by service prior to preaching. With appreciation for this idea of "Christian presence", he wrote a friend:

"The name, work, mission and message of Charles du Foucauld is beginning to penetrate to these parts. It seems wrong that the fruits of the soul toil and mental travail, and mental toil and spiritual discipline of such a saint should not be as fully available as possible, especially among those who could receive light and instruction therefrom....I feel there is so much we have to learn and to unlearn. We stretch out our hands to these unseen and unknown Brothers, who have lived more celest<sup>t</sup>ially, and thought more profoundly, and loved more charitably than we."<sup>1</sup>

Following the Armenian massacres, "service" had gained widespread popularity among Protestant workers in the Near East. Gairdner however purposefully avoided becoming the pawn of the pressing temporal needs about him (e.g. educational, medical, relief work). This was prompted not by insensitivity but the desire to hold "presence" and "proclamation" together. The Church must not be enslaved to the treatment of immediate symptoms but engaged in conveying the long-range answer of God, the remedy for the human dilemma found in Christ. Something of this concern for relating "presence" and biblical presentation is also found in K. Cragg.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Gairdner was equally concerned that Christians be prepared. Following the suggestions of the Conferences of Cairo, Edinburgh and Lucknow, he and Zwemer established the Cairo Study Center (1912) to train Christian workers to cope with the growing complexities of Near Eastern life and Islamic thought. Gairdner dedicated a good portion of his last sixteen years to train missionary recruits and national workers in Arabic and Islamics. He revolutionized the teaching of Arabic so that the student could gain surer and speedier acquisition of a gram<sup>m</sup>atical and idiomatic Arabic. Delving behind the scenes, he gave the student new appreciation

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. W. H. T. G. to His Friends, pp. 124ff. Also cf. R. Voillaume, Seeds of the Desert: The Legacy of Charles de Foucauld (English trans., London, 1955).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. K. Cragg, Sandals at the Mosque: Christian Presence Amid Islam (London, 1959), and Appendix G.

for the tongue to be mastered.<sup>1</sup> One could charge that Gairdner's fascination with Arabic culture diverted him from his primary calling but this is not justifiable inasmuch as he continuously related his scholarship to the Church's mission. The Islamics course examined the various factors contributing to the present outlook of the Muslim community so that the Christian could present the Gospel in terms most comprehensible and least offensive to his listeners. The curriculum included:

"I. An historical sketch of the fundamentals of Islamic faith, including the life of the Prophet...the Koran...a survey of Moslem expansion, theologically, socially and politically; and an examination of those other factors which have moulded the Moslem mind, individually and nationally, into its present form.

"II. An analysis, by study and experience, of the mind of the average Moslem...with an endeavour to comprehend his habits, his ideals (if any), his mode of thought, his outlook, his environment, his literature, his hopes and his fears.

"III. The presentation in practice, after careful study and close observation, of the Gospel message to a Moslem audience, and with an adequate treatment of the current objections to the Christian philosophy of life."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner proposed a four-year course for each recruit with lectures, seminars, directed reading, and "live" practice in making a positive presentation of the Gospel. Of this apologetic-evangelist, Duncan B. Macdonald wrote:

"As missionary, theologian, author, linguist, Arabist, poet, he has left a deep mark on our knowledge of Islam, of the technique of teaching the Arabic colloquial, and above all, on the method of interpreting Christianity to the Moslem mind. As a missionary he believed in evangelism by speech and in print and in thoroughly understanding the ideas of those whose minds and hearts he strove to reach. A great part of his later life was given to the training of younger missionaries in the same methods...."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, A Conversation Grammar and Reader (Cambridge, 1917; London, 1926); The Phonetics of Arabic (Oxford, 1925); "The Arab Phoneticians on the Consonants and Vowels," M.W., 25 (1935), 242-257; "A Modern Meter of Egyptian-Arabic Verse," American Journal of Semitic Languages, 37 (1920-21), 230f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "The Study of Islamics at Cairo," M.W., 12 (1922), 390ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. M.W., 18 (1928), p. 226. Also cf. Gairdner's guest editorial, "Signs of Progress--A Backward Look," M.W., 18 (1928), 1-5.



## Gairdner's Understanding Of Islam

Gairdner took this world and its non-Christian religions seriously acknowledging that they often shaped the environment in which "mission" must be implemented. His early examination of Islam took the form of The Reproach of Islam (1909), a study volume for the home church which proved most popular.<sup>1</sup> Pouring out his thoughts and feelings as fast as pen could move, he had:

"piled difficulty upon difficulty, discouragement upon discouragement, until faith almost reeled. I want it to reel, that it might reel back on to the arms of God in Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Through study of Islam's extent, origin, growth, nature, and practice, Gairdner presents it as a challenge to the Church, the "Christ" occupied community:

"Throughout the book a very special emphasis has been placed on the Person and work of the Spirit of Jesus....The expression is pregnant to the very highest degree. It means all that God in Christ is; all that the heart of Him who was and is Jesus contained and contains; His whole character, His whole view of the world and God and religion and man and man's healing--His Spirit; all this, clothing itself in the lives of those who confess His name, taking flesh in the life of His Church...."<sup>3</sup>

Yet the fact remains that in this world, Islam holds sway over vast lands and populations, at times overwhelming Christians. Its members are:

"...tightly united by a belief in one God, and a common faith which carries with it a fraternity and a religious enthusiasm in its adherents without parallel; a people bound together by this Faith, and by a social system which insinuates itself by the privileges it offers, the penalties it can impose, and the easiness of the spiritual demands it makes;--such

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<sup>1</sup>The Reproach of Islam (Edinburgh, 1909) was renamed The Rebuke of Islam (London, in its fifth and revised edition). This edition contains additions but no significant alteration. The preface of 1920 explains the change in title: "Islam was a perpetual reminder to Christendom of the latter's failure truly to represent her Lord. For if she had done so, Mohammed would have been a Christian. And the world by this time would have been won for Christ. The Biblical sense of the word "reproach" escaped him--namely a thing so unspeakably vile that its very existence is a shame." (p. iii) hence the change to "rebuke".

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Padwick, Gairdner, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. preface of Reproach (1909).

is the Islam which faces the Church of Jesus Christ in this twentieth century."<sup>1</sup>

How do you explain Islam's success and deal with it? Muir and Margoliouth rightly drew attention to the failure of Byzantine-Persian Christianity and the effective military and economic pressure exerted upon subject peoples.<sup>2</sup>

"The explanation of Mohammed is the explanation of the Sa<sup>(r)</sup>acens, as the Moslems used to be called. To understand why he triumphed in Arabia, is to understand why they triumphed in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia....The Kingdom of this world, of which he dreamed, was set up, and the methods which he sanctioned--with all their admirable, all their contaminating features--were with enthusiasm adopted and employed...as we trace the history of the spread of Islam...we shall get a tremendous lesson in missionary methods, those which the Church might itch to use--yet must leave alone; and that one which often seems very weakness; yet alone can avail."<sup>3</sup>

Critically examining the Muslim idea of God, Gairdner finds that "the conception of Will-Power is paramount, supreme". While one may admire this belief in One God, it tragically omits God's holiness and love (Father) revealed only in Christ. This produces not a solid morality but only an arbitrary system of <sup>that</sup> permitted (halâl) and prohibited (harâm). This "unconditioned Might" rules out atonement even though Muslim ideas of sacrifice cry for it; produces an untouchable God and a man who is neither free nor moral; and results in an agnosticism draining even prayer of meaning. Islam's negative theology is captured in Egyptian rhyme:

"Whatever idea your mind come at,  
I tell you flat God is NOT that."

Its physical paradise and eschatology lack the perception of history and eternity, of the relation of Creator and creation, found in the book of Revelation. In short, Islam is an attempt by man to journey to God, to bridge the gulf from the human side. Its pillars and duties provide the means, the regulations which shape the

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner, Reproach (1909), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 77f.

whole social-political structure.<sup>1</sup> It lacks the "link", the God-Act in Christ, the Incarnate Lord.

"How colossal seems the sheer mass, how irresistible the momentum of this league of nature, the world and the flesh!...Why must we strive always up the hill, the wind and the rain for ever driving in our faces; ever, ever conceding, never, never receiving the handicap and the odds!...If Islam's forces are indeed nature, the world and the flesh, then Islam has left us one weapon in taking away all the others--it has abandoned to us the Sword of the Spirit--the Spirit of Jesus is the only asset of the Church."<sup>2</sup>

During his wanderjahr (1910-1911), Gairdner began his sympathetic study of Islamic mysticism and Al-Ghazali. The Edinburgh Conference, contact with orientlists, and absence from the intense "mission station" encouraged this inquiry. Two Turkish sheikhs (now Christians) at Potsdam were ideal interpreters of their experiences in Islam. As former scholar and head of the Sufi monastery of the Rifa'ite dervishes (an extreme type of esoteric sufism), they described a 'Way' (tariqa) reminding one of Freemasonry with its initiates, grades, rites, etc. These fascinating interviews reveal elements akin to Christian movements: members are recruited not born; are conscious of sin and the experience of human love but long for the love of God; begin their training to recite the Dhikr (naming of God); and commit themselves to a "Way" of monastic life under a superior who is both confessor and disciplinarian. Gairdner diagrams their "seven stage" program of the soul moving towards God.

"But the whole purpose of Sufism, the way of the dervish, is to give him an escape from this prison (in the body), an apocalypse of the Seventy Thousand Veils (thick curtains separating him from God), a recovery of the original unity with The One, while still in this body. The body is not to be put off; it is to be refined, and made spiritual,--a help and not a

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<sup>1</sup>At this point Gairdner is not far from Kraemer's distinction between "religions" and the Christian Faith (1938). While Gairdner later develops a more sympathetic view of Islam (1928) which acknowledges fragments, "half-truths" in Islam, he never repudiates this early criticism.

<sup>2</sup>Gairdner, Reproach (1909), pp. 127ff. This identification of Islam with the "natural man" and the world is reminiscent of Luther (later Kellerhals, Der Islam). In 1909, Gairdner saw little in Islam that resembled the revelation of or work of God.



hindrance to the spirit (ruh), It is like a metal that has to be refined by fire and transmuted. And the sheikh tells the aspirant that he has the secret of this transmutation....For every Stage transversed in this return journey to Allah, then ten thousand of the Veils are apocalypted."<sup>1</sup>

While Sufism was dangerously near pantheism or esoteric Gnosticism (The mystic in the final stage claimed "All things are in him and he in all things. There is no god but he.") and was probably saved only by al-Qushairi and al-Ghazali who wedded it to Sunnite orthodoxy, it did come to grips with ultimate issues. Gairdner hoped this concern for sin and reconciliation, the transcendence and immanence of God, law and liberty might provide a gateway for presenting the Gospel. This compelled him to intensify his study of Islam in Europe and America. He admired D. B. Macdonald for his psychological insights into Islam and yet devout missionary interest.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch Professor Hurgonje is taken to task however for implying that a missionary cannot be an "objective" scholar:

"Missionaries are supposed to be both inaccurate and unfair in dealing with the life and character of Mohammed, though they have (we believe) done more than anyone else to mediate to the public moderate, fact-grounded views, and to destroy the mediaeval-mythical one. This claim was strengthened by reading Snouck Hurgonje's own result sketch (pp. 25-48). It seems to us to differ little except in certain emphases from the sketches given in recent missionary text-books,...."<sup>3</sup>

While appreciative of much of the orientalist's study of Islam, he rejects outright the idea that Christianity should abandon the effort to draw converts from Islam.

Returning to Cairo, Gairdner centered his research about the theologian-mystic, al-Ghazali. First, he tackled the critical questions surrounding the Mishkāt

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner, "The Way of A Mohammedan Mystic," M.W., 2 (1912), p. 180.

<sup>2</sup>His reviews of Macdonald's three major books are found in M.W., 2 (1912), 312-317.

<sup>3</sup>Gairdner, "Professor Snouck Hurgonje's Mohammadanism," M.W., 7 (1917), 5-4. For favorable reviews of Henri Lammens, cf. M.W., 3 (1913), 432-434.

Al-Anwār (The Niche for Lights).<sup>1</sup> Then he published an introduction and translation of this document which revealed considerable insight into Ghazali's life and esoteric thought. In brief, Ghazali attempts to explain the relation of creation (the soul) to God by examining the relation of light to its ultimate source, the relation of symbol (language) to the 'thing' (visible and invisible worlds), and then to apply these principles to the exegesis of the Quranic 'Light' verse (Surah 24:35) and the 'Veils' hadith. Of the latter, Gairdner remarks:

"The origin of the tradition is, it is safe to hazard, Neoplatonic, and it therefore lent itself completely to the gnostic and theosophic mode of thought which so soon invaded Muslim Sufism, after its less successful effort to capture orthodox Christianity."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner appreciated Ghazali's attempt to bridge the gap between the extreme transcendent God of Islam and the utter temporal creation, but it highlighted the fact that Islam did not and could not answer how God could have contact with this world. It leaves the Muslim, even Ghazali, oscillating between mystic experiments in extreme pantheism and cold rigid deism with its agnostic and fatalistic effects. Perhaps this study of the Muslim giant convinced Gairdner anew that he must spend his time on the Proclamation of God's "bridging" Act in Christ and the resultant new life of the Church.

In a third step, Gairdner sought to help the Muslim community to separate fiction from fact, myth from history. Because the system of Islam is largely structured upon traditions, he encouraged educated Muslims to use "historical criticism" to get at the truth about Muhammad and his teachings. His purpose was not to produce a "reformed" Islam but to help Muslims see their real dilemma and to become receptive to God's news in Christ.<sup>3</sup> Two articles illustrate Gairdner's

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner, Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāṭ al-Anwār (The Niche for Lights, a trans. with intro., Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1924).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., cf. introduction.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. M.W., 7 (1917), 348.

approach. In the first, Gairdner points out the questionable nature of many hadiths when submitted to the historical tests usually applied to the Gospels.<sup>1</sup>

"It is strange, therefore, that with these a priori resemblances, the two sets of records should present such immense and striking differences. The most important of them are (1) the much more modest dimension of the Christian records as compared with the Moslem; (2) the lateness with which the Moslem records were collected into book form as compared with the Christian; (3) the absence in the Gospels of isnad (i.o. the citation of the pedigree of each report, whether of incident or saying), and the all-pervading and all-important part played by isnad in the Traditions."<sup>2</sup>

The hadiths are suspect because they have no internal criticism (often accepting absurd contradictory claims); the list of transmitters break down under close scrutiny; and the companions of Muhammed who could have offered the clearest witness give us practically nothing.<sup>3</sup> In contrast the Gospels show strength by requiring no isnad and by proving reliable even under the "modern criticism" of Harnack.<sup>4</sup> What was Gairdner trying to prove? Simply that the gigantic superstructure of Islam, even the Shari'a lacked historical support, it was built upon a colossal illusion and not a Law given by God to Muhammad:

"...the whole orthodox system of Koran exegesis and the whole orthodox system of canon-law rest (as system) upon the traditions even more than on

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Gairdner, "Moslem Tradition and the Gospel Record. The Hadith and the Injil," M.W., 5 (1915), pp. 349-379. Note how he avoids a frontal attack on the Quran, or an "unequal" comparison of it with the Gospel. He hopes Muslims will later apply historical criticism to the Quran on their own.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 349f.

<sup>3</sup>Gairdner holds the traditions were "coined" to meet the political, social and philosophical needs of the Muslim community, agreeing with Goldziher (Mohammedanische Studien, II) re: the utter unscrupulous business of tradition-falsification during the Umayyad and the first part of the 'Abbasid period. cf. Ibid., p. 355.

<sup>4</sup>Harnack's four tests were: (1) early dating of written accounts; (2) eye witness accounts; (3) cross check with contemporaries; and (4) the trustworthiness of the recorder. This reminds one of Samuel Lee's appeal to Locke's tests, "First, the conformity of anything with our own knowledge, observation and experiences. Secondly, the testimony of others, vouching their observation and experience.... In the testimony of others is to be considered 1. the number of witnesses, 2. their integrity, 3. their skill, 4. the design of the author (where it is a testimony out of a book cited), 5. the consistency of the parts, and 6. contrary testimonies." cf. Controversial Tracts (1824), p. 466.



the Koran itself. If the unreliability of these, then, is established, those systems ought logically to be doubted and discarded. And modern intellectual Moslems do indeed attempt to go 'back to the Koran' and to find in it alone (as far as possible) their data for constructive systematisation; thereby showing that they are aware that the use of traditions as data cannot be justified."<sup>1</sup>

While this critical process continues even today within Islam, perhaps Gairdner placed too much hope in "scientific objectivity" for the emotive Muslim community might use it to produce a streamlined virile Islam even more resilient to Christianity. Gairdner's other objective, to stress that the Gospel provides a trustworthy account of Jesus, was more practical:

"What does all this mean? It means that these Gospels were simply the committal to writing of the Acts and Words of Christ, as they had been taught and preached from the very outset....Thus Islam conducts us to a Book which truly was given forth by its founder. Christianity conducts us to a Christ who truly lived, wrought, died, rose again on the third day and passed alive into the unseen."<sup>2</sup>

In the second article, "Mohammad without Camouflage," Gairdner attacks the so-called "objectivity" of Western scholars and the Islamic Review (Woking) which ignores certain essential (if raw) elements in Muhammad's life, Islamic history and literature in order to appear "unprejudiced" to the English public.<sup>3</sup> This lack of "historical responsibility" sometimes portrays Muhammad as "the perfect human exemplar and final ethical standard" while glossing over such plain but uncongenial facts as his violations of the morals of war and conventions of life accepted by the Arabs, his role in executions and enslavement, the element of "desire" in his marriages, etc. Gairdner counsels the consultation of such reliable Muslim sources as al-Bukhari (traditionalist), Ibn-Hisham (historian) and al-Halabi (biographer) to unveil Muhammad without camouflage. Thus he concludes:

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Gairdner, "Moslem Tradition and the Gospel Record," pp. 363f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 378f.

<sup>3</sup>Gairdner, "Mohammed without Camouflage. Ecce Homo Arabicus," M.W., 9 (1919), 25-57.

"...if admirers of Mohammed are content to regard him historically as a great Arabian, who had a real and strange sense of prophetic call, and through this and his immense natural genius, singular gifts, and many virtues, accomplished a stupendous life-work, then we join with the admirers....The worst enemies of Mohammed are not his opponents, but his friends, who will have it that the character of this Arabian giant is the very type of perfected humanity;...that no great wrong can be attributed to him; that his moral splendour throws that of Jesus completely in the shade; and that his example and precept make the best foundation not only for codes of conduct but for national and international law!...All we know is that these men one and all, are doing a disservice both to truth and to their idol. For they as little give the world the whole truth as did the old-time wholesale obloquists; and they simply force those who see in these assertions a gross offence against fact, and a definite attack on the perfection and universality of the Man Jesus Christ, to rise up and show from the sources that the real Mohammed, the Mohammed of the sources and of the Agreement of Islam, the only Mohammed who counts...will not fit the role in virtue of which the human race is invited to travel from Bethlehem to Mekka, from the Mount of the Beatitudes to the Mount of 'Arafāt."<sup>1</sup>

Finally it is noted that as a scholar of Islam, Gairdner was very alert to contemporary developments in the Muslim world. His consciousness of the influence of politics and other forces on missions is observed in his article for the first issue of The Moslem World.<sup>2</sup> As an Anglican acquainted with the tension which church-state relationships could generate, he was most critical of British policy in Egypt, Sudan and throughout Africa:

"It is cowardly and unchristian; it is not even neutral. It ought to be wholly changed. The British official may one day see that all this subservience to the Moslem and neglect of his own faith gains him neither the respect, gratitude, nor affection of the people, but the very reverse of all three."<sup>3</sup>

He saw the "Pan-Islamic" movement mainly as a reaction to European interference, but positively anticipated a bright future for the national movements and urged Coptic Christians to participate in their formation. He wanted to stamp out the idea that being or becoming a Christian made one less a "nationalist".

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 56f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "Present Day Movements in the Moslem World," M.W., 1 (1911), 74-77, 187-191, 435-443.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Gairdner, "Islam under Christian Rule," Islam and Missions (Papers of the Missionary Conference at Lucknow, New York, 1911), p. 205.

"I believe that any attempt to denationalize oneself is rather like unsexing oneself. It generally leads to becoming acidly anti one's own nation, and that defeats itself, for ultimately that sort of thing though it at first flatters the adopted nation, alienates and disgusts even it, while by the other it is rightly judged as a form of matricide."<sup>1</sup>

He would contend that even as he could be truly ecumenical only by being a true Anglican so must Egyptian Christians be both nationalists and internationalists. Thus Gairdner is to be respected as a scholar acquainted with theological, historical and contemporary Islam.

There remains the significant question: What is the Christian Answer to the Theology and Practice of Islam according to Gairdner? One discovers an apologetic approach that becomes sympathetic to Muslims without compromising evangelical convictions. At first, his approach frequently pitted Christian doctrine against Islamic doctrine, system against system. About 1912 (after the Conferences of Cairo, Edinburgh, Lucknow and the wanderjahr), a second stage in his approach appears which (a) applies serious research to Islam to discover what is valid and reliable, (b) acknowledges that Islam may be to the Arabs as Judaism was to the Hebrews, a preparatio evangelica, and (c) aims for a positive presentation of Christ and His Gospel. A slightly modified version of this second stage appears in 1928 (perhaps due to the structure of the Jerusalem Conference) in which Gairdner (a) is aware of the "values" in Islam, (b) is convinced that Christianity is the "corrective" and "fulfillment" of Islam, i.e. the dilemma and needs of the Muslim as a man; and (c) concentrates upon the Church as the present expression of life with God (in Christ) and as agent of God's will (Christ's work) in the world. This evaluation can be substantiated by examining several of Gairdner's writings.

The final chapters of The Reproach of Islam (1909) depict Gairdner's

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. W. H. T. G. to His Friends, pp. 96, 139-156 and the "Editorial: Tempora Mutantur," M.W., 4 (1914), 1f. for his identification with the national aspirations.



earlier attitude and approach. The House of Islam is too ill to reform itself, salvation must come from outside. Although he sees the two systems standing against each other, he tries to direct men beyond to the Spirit of Christ:

"We therefore close with one observation...Islam and Christianity are incompatible; they are different in ethos, in aim, in scope, in sympathy. Islam is the later born....If, in its very constitution, it is unfitted to be the universal religion, because only a religion in which Spirit is supreme and fundamental, and rite definitely subordinate to Spirit, can be universal, then the religion of Christ is the universal religion. But if so, then that religion, as preached to the Mohammedan, must indeed be a religion of Spirit, of the Spirit of Jesus....Most futile, most disappointing, and most foolish of all quests would be that which were only to seek to substitute for one ritual another, for one system another system,....Nothing but the Spirit can bind and free Islam. Let the Church that does not believe in the Holy Ghost 'save herself the trouble of attempting the conversion of Islam....'"<sup>1</sup>

Gairdner then queries, "How is that Cross to be given the victory? How is He to be lifted up and draw all these unto Him? Islam--How save it?"<sup>2</sup> His answer is that the Church must obey her great commission for too long she has repudiated and shirked the problem of Islam. He considers the Cairo Conference (1906) something of a turning point in history. In spite of all the allurements and armour of Islam, Muslims can and are being reached. While the problem of tackling a half-truth, a denial of a given truth, a post-historical development is always more complex, it is not impossible in the Spirit of Christ. As he examines the work of John Damascene, Lull, Martyn, Pfander, French, it is apparent that Gairdner's interest lies in an Apologetic method. Mission is however never just a job, for the "Church's understanding of herself" is tied up with "world redemption";

"What then will it not be when the Church as a whole has realized that she exists to evangelise the World?...of 'making Jesus King' over all....Islam is the greatest call the Church ever has had, or will have, to look to Him who is invisible--to come to an understanding and realisation of the meaning of CHRIST. In a score of ways the reproach of Islam that lies upon us day by day, calls us to explore His forgotten secrets, and to realise what He in Himself is. Most of all it calls us to a closer association with Christ Himself--to that continuance with Him in His temptations,--to learn what is the Kingdom of God, Who is the Spirit of Jesus....And if the Church is brought truly to learn this lesson, she will face the reproach of Islam, with shame and sorrow indeed, but without dismay, for she will, in so learning, learn also the secret of Christ's Victory, and prove in herself the power of His Risen Life."<sup>3</sup>

From 1912 onwards, Gairdner's appreciative if critical research in Islam is paralleled by a more positive presentation of Christ. This maturing is again seen in the lapse in time between the parts of "The Doctrine of the Unity in Trinity",<sup>1</sup> "A Reply to Mohammedan Objections and an Essay in Philosophic Apology" (Part I, 1911) is a simulated conversation of a "Discussion Society" intended to show the scriptural and rational foundations of the Trinity and to answer five key Muslim objections. For the moment Gairdner stands squarely in the lineage of Martyn-Pfander-Tisdall. Fearlessly he follows the advice of the Edinburgh Conference and prepares an apologetic literature touching the primary issue of the concept of God. By 1916 (Parts II and III), Gairdner has advanced. No longer the nineteenth century "defender", he has probed deep into Islam and knows how its Deism (a "self-contained Monad") leaves an unbridgeable chasm between Creator and Creation:

"How real this difficulty is all students of Islam know. The Philosophers with their theories of Emanation and the Eternity of the World; and the Sufis with their Tradition are enough to prove that this difficulty is a real one; and, as a matter of fact, most agnosticism is owing to the seriousness of this very difficulty to many minds. We say that the doctrine of a Trinity makes the position easier, not more difficult." [he thus explains] ... (1) The doctrine of the Triune God reveals to us a God with eternal activities, not latent, but patent in eternal actions.... (2) ... shows that creation did not mean for God the beginning of relations: for God in Himself is eternally related in the highest possible way--in a way that infinitely transcends the most highly organised and related being on earth.... (3) ... removes the difficulty of ascribing reaction, limitation, passivity, and emotion to God, which is so fatal to pure transcendence, and which is nevertheless, inevitable as soon as you have ascribed to Him creation."<sup>2</sup>

Christianity is best equipped to explain God's relation to man ("in His image") while Islam remains disturbed when discovering the attributes (names) applied to God can also apply to man. Although Muhammad and other Muslims had been conscious of the presence and "a mysterious self-relation of God to space and sense", their

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner, "The Doctrine of the Unity in Trinity," M.W., 1 (1911), 381-407; and M.W., 6 (1916), 28-41, 127-139.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. M.W., 6 (1916), 28ff.

faulty theology prevented them from understanding or expressing it, hence resulting in a denial of communication and love. Gairdner urges the Muslim reader to consider the Incarnation again, the Christ who gives man an understanding of his experience of God, a Mystery which baffles our boastful reason.

Another example of Gairdner in the midst of maturing is "The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam" where he proposes that Islam may be a distorted preparatio evangelica which will find its correction and cure in the Christian Faith.<sup>1</sup> Islam's vitality is found in these areas:

"(1)...its doctrine of God...that He is a personal force, and that He has a definite relation to the world--which includes a real, though quite inscrutable and also passionless favour towards themselves....It may not always produce a particularly ethical fruit, but it...gives them a steady if stiff, Weltanschauung; it very often enables them to face loss, trouble, and adversity with complete stoicism....(2)...The Moslem's devotion to his Prophet, his admiration and enthusiasm, nay, his personal love for him, are intense realities. He believes that the Prophet suffered and sacrifices in loyalty to his mission....(3) Another reality of the Moslem's life is his pride in Islam, its position as latest and last of the religions, its triumphs, its literature and its learning, its saints and its doctors. It is this and...his sense of fraternity....(4)...what is really significant in the Moslem's spiritual life,...is not...the phenomenon of Moslem prayer....That comes in less statutory services--Koran readings at feast or fast or festivity, and above all the dhikr--the door which Mohammedan mysticism has opened to the world of religious emotion....It is the highly elaborate, ornate chanting of the Koran--an art of the delight of which is born half of music and half of word--that gives him that element of aesthetic uplift...."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner suggests that the Muslim must be approached as Aquila and Priscilla approached Apollos (cf. Acts 18:26).

"The doctrines in question must be presented by us, not as hard, formulated lumps of creed, but as organic tissue of faith, warm with life and perpetually giving rise to new life."<sup>3</sup>

The Muslim must be led from admiration for Ecce Homo to faith and obedience in Ecce Rex. Only the Living Christ can really unfold the Cross.

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<sup>1</sup>This article from I.R.M., 1 (1912) 44-61 is republished in a volume of the same title: The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam (London, 1915), pp. 11-44, esp. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-21

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 26f.



"It is only when for one cause or other a Moslem's faith in Islam is shaken, and he finds a home in Christianity, that very gradually his thoughts about God expand and demand to find in Him what only Christ has ever revealed."<sup>1</sup>

This remedial presentation of the Gospel can begin with the Unity of God (stressing that Incarnation and Atonement begin in the heart of God), the Christ as Logos (a concept Muslims acknowledge), and the Holy Spirit as the "Presence" of God (a concept given limited reference in the Quran). In this dynamic experience both Church and Muslim can discover anew how the fulness of God and the reciprocal joys of man are realized en Christo.<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner's final paper, "Christianity and Islam", prepared for the Jerusalem Conference (1928) with the aid of W. A. Eddy and at the urging of J. H. Oldham, raises several significant questions. Did Gairdner in his last years modify his views to accept the "comparative religions" approach?<sup>3</sup> Did Gairdner adopt the "fulfillment" concept popularized by J. N. Farquhar?<sup>4</sup> The answer to both must be, No! Although it has been suggested that Gairdner leaned in this direction and one must admit that the outward appearance of the paper (with its structure of comparison, reference to "values" and "fulfillment", etc.) is deceiving; yet a probing behind the scenes reveals otherwise. The content of this paper is but a resume of the evangelistic-apologetic writings and research of Gairdner over the last nineteen years, which he holds as still valid. One must remember that only reluctantly did Gairdner accept this task. The structure for the Conference with the "comparing" of "values" in Christianity and other religions side by side undoubtedly made Gairdner uncomfortable.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-43.

<sup>3</sup>E. Kellerhals misunderstands Gairdner when he classifies him as one of the comparative religions school which made works/ethics the measure of truth in religion. While this thought was evident at Jerusalem (1928), it is erroneous to so categorize Gairdner. Cf. Kellerhals Der Islam, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup>Farquhar has been superbly treated in E. J. Sharpe, Not to Destroy But to fulfil (Uppsala, 1965).

~~Now~~ This clarification of Gairdner's position dates back to Edinburgh, 1910. Commission IV under Chairman D. S. Cairns had been a proving ground for the "correct" apologetic approach, the "communication of the Gospel to adherents of non-Christian religions". Gairdner himself calls this Report, "one of the most remarkable, perhaps the most remarkable, of a great series".<sup>1</sup> It was here that the idea of Christianity as the "fulfillment" of other religions came under the fire of the D. S. Cairns-A. G. Hogg team. This team influenced by the neo-evangelical stirrings on the continent rejected the application of the evolutionary principle to all religions including Christianity. While agreeing that scientific methods and Christianity were compatible and in a sympathetic approach to other religions, they insisted that the Christian Faith was unique, final, supernaturally "revealed" by God in Christ and stood in contrast to, not "fulfillment" of other religions.<sup>2</sup> Gairdner, coming out of a solid Evangelical Anglican background, appears to have a closer affinity to his friend D. S. Cairns than to Farquhar.<sup>3</sup> Sharpe rightly detects that Farquhar uses "fulfillment" on two levels:

"(i) The religious phenomena of Christianity are universal religious phenomena on the highest level of their development. The corresponding Hindu phenomena, of which there are many, are lower on the evolutionary scale, and are therefore 'fulfilled' by the former in the course of the process of evolution....

"(ii) Man's basic religious instincts are satisfied, i.e. they reach fulfillment, only in Christianity, although all religions provide partial answers to the questions raised by the unsatisfied."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Gairdner, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. 134, 137.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Report of Commission IV (Edinburgh Series, 1910), pp. 249-267. Also D. S. Cairns, "The Need for Apologists," Student World, (1911), 49ff, The Faith that Rebels (London, 1928) and "The Christian Message. A Comparison of Thought in 1910 and in 1928," I.R.M., 18 (1929), 321f; and A. G. Hogg, Karma and Redemption (Madras, 1909), Christ's Message of the Kingdom (Madras, 1911), Redemption from This World (Edinburgh, 1922), and The Christian Message to the Hindu (London, 1947). Hogg's books provide a sharp criticism of Farquhar's Crown of Hinduism (Oxford, 1913).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Padwick, Gairdner, p. 200 and Sharpe, Not to Destroy, pp. 110ff, et passim.

<sup>4</sup>Sharpe, Not to Destroy, pp. 310f. For a fair assessment of Farquhar, cf. pp. 344-360.

Now Gairdner, along with Zwemer and A. G. Hogg, could give qualified acceptance to the second idea, but radically reject the first. Christianity fulfills the spiritual longing of the Muslim (any man), but it in no way fulfills Islam.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is a mistake to ascribe to Gairdner the characteristics of the several "comparative religion" schools of thought found at Jerusalem (1928).<sup>2</sup> In fact his fatal sickness robbed him of the chair at this Conference which young Kraemer came to occupy. Thus Kraemer was to play the intermediary in the debate between the critical Germans (insisting upon the sui generis of Christianity and the grace of the transcendent God), the Americans (varying from Hocking to Speer and Mackay), and the mediating British.<sup>3</sup> Closer scrutiny of the paper "Christianity and Islam" reveals that the framework of "comparison", "values", and "fulfillment" has been largely superimposed upon Gairdner's solid life-time contributions. Yet the content is composed of concise, practically irreducible blocks of earlier writings placed under new headings and leads. It is a compact statement of the Christian answer to Islam as found "in Christ" and as expressed in the Church.<sup>4</sup> It is a final re-statement of Gairdner's apology in the "packaging" of "Jerusalem, 1928". It represents no significant change in content, only the matured convictions of Temple Gairdner.

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner like Cairns, Hogg and Zwemer would acknowledge the diabolical, the evil existing in non-Christian systems, which Christ certainly does not fulfill in any revolutionary process. Instead he stands in "judgement" of such. Gairdner, is at this point closer to Zwemer who in the crisis of the 1920s and 1930s stood convinced that Christ is more than the "highest" or "best"; He is the "Final" Lord and Judge of all.

<sup>2</sup>As apparently did Julius Richter and several others. Cf. Hallencreutz, Kraemer towards Tambaram, pp. 171-177.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 180ff.

<sup>4</sup>For fuller treatment of the Gairdner-Eddy paper, cf. Appendix E.



Gairdner's Understanding of the Church: the Relation of Life and Mission

At this point, one must review Gairdner's early experiences in the ecumenical movement and his realistic criticism of the Church to appreciate his vision of the Church. He hoped that gradually her life as mission, community and as a center of learning and worship might be "realized".

Closely associated with the student movements, missionary conferences and such eminent friends as J. H. Oldham, J. R. Mott, R. E. Speer and S. M. Zwemer, Gairdner grew with the "ecumenical movement". While ever conscious of the gap between the ideal concerning the Church's life and mission (Jn. 17:21) and the present reality, he was confident in his hope. His early analysis of the situation of the Church, worldwide, is found in Edinburgh, 1910. It was written to:

"give to many thousands of readers a new vision of the central place of Christian missions in the current history of the world, and of what God would have them now to do for the coming of the Kingdom of God."<sup>1</sup>

The Conference made a lasting impact upon Gairdner and in the next eighteen years he made contributions in the areas of all eight Commissions.<sup>2</sup> The awareness of the changing world made one "world mission" and "world church" more urgent:

"Humanity was awakening to self-consciousness: it became tenfold more urgent to say to humanity Ecce Homo! The world was realising that it was a unity;--was that unity to be or not to be in One Lord and One Faith."<sup>3</sup>

The very "demonstration" as well as "deliberation" of the Conference made the "to be" much more feasible. Yet "Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World" (Commission I) required the best scientific study of the problems of geographical expansion and "occupation". Formed at Richter's suggestion, the Continuation Committee became a vital tool for research and for "unifying", touching even those

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<sup>1</sup>Gairdner, Edinburgh, 1910, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup>The Edinburgh Conference followed the Madras pattern (1902) of eight commissions with preparatory research and reports. It drew 1200 delegates from 160 Mission Boards or Societies.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 9f.

areas of the Church "rent" by Islam.<sup>1</sup> "The Church on the Mission-Field" (II) evidenced as advances ("the pledge of final victory"): the appearance of infant "national" churches, the growth of their "corporate" life, and the hope of one "Church" in each field. Yet in reality, power still rested with the Mission Boards and the young churches were poorly represented. Commission III insisted that "Christian" education could offer a nation a "basis for unity", brotherhood and freedom.<sup>2</sup> As already seen, Gairdner considered the Report of Commission IV under D. S. Cairns as one of the greatest. The "Relation to non-Christian religions" was going to become the big issue at Jerusalem (1928) and Madras (1938). Gairdner describes the attitude of some in the past who held other religions to be "specimens of absolute error" which must be uprooted and destroyed (e.g. Duff). Others, he noted, considered them as "attempted solutions of Life's problems" hence to be approached with sympathy, respect and study (e.g. Zwemer). Still others as "broken lights" containing some truth to be fulfilled in the Light of the World thus challenging the Church to continually rediscover in Christ her Light. Gairdner stands somewhere between the last two.<sup>3</sup> He went on to wrestle with the question of unity, "the need of One Body to give outward and visible expression to the inward and spiritual grace of the One Spirit". He advocated not a "tame homogeneous uniformity" but a "definite coherent heterogeneity," a "unity amidst diversity and distinction".<sup>4</sup> Even more important were the changes that "Mission" implied for the whole Church:

"To restore to the whole Church this sense of proper function amounts to nothing short of the re-creation of the Church--a work which only God Himself can work, yet a work in which man can join by the almost forgotten secret of prayer."<sup>5</sup>

The "Moravian Ideal" implies a Church aware of "the Reality of God and the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 148f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 196ff.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 241.

Sufficiency of His Grace for a World in Crisis".

The lessons of "Edinburgh, 1910" were rigorously applied to the Church in West and East in the years to follow by Gairdner. He arouses the Church of England and Christians in British government to their duty to the people of Egypt:

"The National Mission was not merely a call to England to recognise certain internal diseases and to seek their cure; it was a call to a self-surrender to God of the whole universe and to the knowing and doing of His Will in all its length and breadth."<sup>1</sup>

He applies the "screws" equally to Oriental Christian Communities in 1925. Both Evangelical and Orthodox bodies in the Near East are neglecting the evangelization of Muslims, failing to assimilate converts when they do appear. Why? Three factors create and sustain this non-evangelistic tradition. First, Eastern Christians have been filled with fear by living under:

"the age-long pressure of a conquering, a domineering, and an unsparing state-religion: a religion which has made 'proselytism' and even preaching criminal offences; a religion which has barely conceded to the depressed members of other faiths the right to exist, and then only on the express conditions that they kept themselves to themselves."<sup>2</sup>

Likewise the environment of the Near East has distorted the Church:

"the historic development of religious communities in the East has tended to turn them all into something resembling nations, the governing bodies of which are charged with a multitude of duties concerning the personal and social and political status of their members: the direct result is the disinclination to admit outsiders, and the denial of the desirability or even possibility of conversion, along with a strong development of those feelings of antipathy and antagonism which are associated with national community-feeling."<sup>3</sup>

Again the fact that some converts from Islam have lapsed or "turned traitor" does not help, but this may possibly reflect the unreceptive atmosphere of the Church. To combat and change this, Gairdner suggested three honest activities, a "thought-campaign": to replace this negative mentality with one of Christian hope and

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<sup>1</sup>"The National Mission and Mohammedanism," M.W., 7 (1917), 343.

<sup>2</sup>"Oriental Christian Communities and the Evangelization of the Moslems," in The Moslem World Today ed. by J. R. Mott (London, 1925), pp. 279-287, esp. p. 282.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 282f.



courage; to recapture the concept of the Church as "a spiritual brotherhood" which attracts men; and to restore the Church as a home for the convert (implying all members share in pastoral care).

At this point, it is advisable to consider Gairdner's Vision of the Church: a Reality to be Realized. He saw the Church as "the Body of Christ", a holy if temporal dwelling, a manifestation of the "Spirit of Jesus" in the world, the on-going life and ministry of the Incarnate Christ. He saw the Church as World Mission, truly apostolic. Because Christ "died for the world", nothing less than the "whole" can be the objective:

"The day is past for the beating of the crusading drum. There is only one possible objective for those who 'take the Cross' today--the Kingdom of God as inaugurated by Jesus Christ for the whole of humanity. No exceptions can be made for to make an exception would be both the betrayal of the Kingdom and a slight upon the thing excepted. To offer Mohammedans Christ's Kingdom of God puts us right with truth and with ourselves."<sup>1</sup>

The conversion of thousands of Muslims to Christ in Africa, East Indies and the Near East bear witness to God's activity. Yet only as the whole laity of the Church are effective, the "witness of Christ shall again regain the universality and directness that it had in apostolic times".<sup>2</sup> But it is The Church as Community, truly catholic receiving and reconciling all men, that is the theme found in nearly every article written by Gairdner in his last decade. The basic presuppositions are set down in "The Christian Church as a Home for Christ's Converts from Islam,"<sup>3</sup> a paper which he considered the crowning epitaph of his life:

"We are agreed that when Jesus Christ founded His Church He purposed to spread His message of Salvation everywhere by means of that Church.

"We are agreed that this work is the main duty of the Church as a whole: --that Christ's congregation in this world is not intended to live to itself --not even to build up itself in holiness, only--but to live for its evangelizing task....

"We are agreed then, that if this task and this ideal are universal,

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<sup>1</sup>"Introduction and Conclusion: The Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years. A Survey," I.R.M., 12 (1923), 4f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 53f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. M.W., 14 (1924), 235-246 and its repetition in the Jerusalem Paper (1928).

it must be made the conscious aim, the enthusiasm, of the lesser communities included within the Church universal--that is to say, of each denomination; and that this, again, should mean that all the families and individual members of those congregations have the same conscious aim, the same enthusiasm. It is only by particularizing, in ever narrowing circles of application, that any campaigns are won....

"We are agreed that the responsibility for the evangelization of any country is and must be mainly, almost entirely, upon the local Christian community, denominations, congregations, families and church members in that country....If these things be true, we are then agreed that the abiding test of the success of missionary work in those lands will be how far the Christian community which has been influenced or raised up through missionary effort takes up and prosecutes the evangelization of the Moslem people.

"And now I want to say what has been borne upon my soul with increasing force for several years,...'How far the Christian community...is a home for those who turn to Christ from Islam.'"<sup>1</sup>

The realization of the new brotherhood, the new fraternity of love found in Christ, is a pre-requisite to evangelization of Muslims. He nurtured this "warm internal love, friendliness and all-embracing benevolence" in the congregations that Muslims might be attracted:

"The brotherhood preached by our Lord in the Parable of the Good Samaritan is wholly unknown to the Moslem to whom 'neighbor' and 'brother' do precisely mean--consciously, officially, and admittedly--his co-religionist and him alone....The Christian fraternity, so magnificently realized in the first centuries, is to-day broken to bits, but the ideal is still with absolute faith and confidence....Before we can win our Moslem brother to the fellowship of the Twelve with their Master, we must issue to Christians and to Christian mission the call 'Back to Christ'....Back to the limitless brotherliness of the Spirit of Jesus."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner hit upon the theme of the missionary nature of the Congregation that was to gain such attention at New Delhi (1961):

"For the Church or congregation which desires to be, sets out to be, and succeeds in being a home for those converted to Christ from Islam, is in itself a gospel...let alone the fact that precisely such a church will certainly be the one most forward in preaching to non-Christians in the ordinary sense of the word.

"Therefore, to see our congregations and communities as homes for those

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "Values in Christianity," M.W., 18 (1928), 350f. Gairdner felt that Zwemer's Arabic booklet, "The Way to the Heart of Moslems" was a step in the right direction.

<sup>3</sup>Dr. W. M. Watt, *Truth in the Religions* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 64.

and who are not yet Christ's, but for whom Christ is seeking, is our supreme task, our highest ideal, our fairest dream."<sup>1</sup>

But it does not end there, for Gairdner sees the Church as a Center of Learning (discipleship) and Worship (doxology). To mobilize the Church for the twin work of "witness" and "worship", he created a program of "learning". First, he set out to build a handbook to guide the young Church in the steps to and activities of membership. By death, he had not only accomplished much of this curriculum, but was preparing his first commentaries in Arabic, perhaps one of the most needed tools in the Church. Second, he sought to train teacher-friends (didaskaloi) who would welcome and instruct inquirers, catechumens and new members. Gairdner underplayed "clerical control" in order to arouse all members to their responsibility in winning and upbuilding others in the faith. Third, he was concerned with "the bodily needs of converts" frequently cut off from social and economic resources. He advised finding or making employment for them in order that they could retain a sense of self-respect. Indeed the Church was to be a vibrant community of "disciples".

Problems in no way diminished Gairdner's confident hope in the Church's mission for her Lord. Having experienced the power and presence of the Christ who declared, "Behold, I make all things new", he anticipated the transformation of the whole world. Thus he could participate without fear of failure in the dynamic mission of God in Christ and His Church:

"The man who really believes is always and without any hesitation commending his religion to others. This is the essence of 'mission'--an outgoing towards others based on complete confidence...."<sup>2</sup>

Gairdner's love and work for the Muslim was rooted in the assurance of God's love and work within history for all men. Living in anticipation of the King

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in M.W., 14 (1924), 235f. Also cf. J. Blauw, The Missionary Nature of the Church (London, 1962).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. W. M. Watt, Truth in the Religions (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 64.



and His Coming Kingdom, he frequently quoted the inscription on the Church-Mosque in Damascus:

"Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is a Kingdom of all ages,  
And Thy Dominion endureth throughout all generations."<sup>1</sup>

The radiating influence of Temple Gairdner would reach to Tambaram and beyond.<sup>2</sup>

In the person and gifts of Gairdner, it has been observed how one great branch of the Church made the transition to a maturer twentieth century approach to Muslims. It now remains to be seen what advances were taking place in Reformed ranks.

In the final portion of this study, it is proposed to present A. A. Hume

as a faithful representative of the pioneering and continuing work of Reformed missions to Muslims. To accomplish this, three periods of his life's activities will first be briefly surveyed. Then will follow a more detailed consideration of the substance of his contributions to Muslim evangelism, and finally, a summary of his Evangelism, attending to the growth in the Reformed Church's approach to Muslim theology (1920-1938) which shows the influence of his work.

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<sup>1</sup>Ps. 145:13 (LXX) quoted in Reproach of Islam, pp. 336f.

<sup>2</sup>For a consideration of the ongoing influence of Gairdner within the Anglican Communion, cf. Appendix G.

The Life and Work of S. M. Zwemer, A Reformed Dutch  
SAMUEL MARINUS ZWEMER (1867-1952): A REFORMED CONTRIBUTION

The Reformed Faith radiating outwards from Geneva manifested itself in S. M. Zwemer. As heir to the historical Dutch missions and the more recent Evangelical fervor sweeping Europe and America, this keen student of the history of missions benefited from previous Reformed-Presbyterian enterprises (already observed in North India, Persia, Syria and Egypt) and reflected their zeal for disseminating the written and spoken Word, for pragmatic use of every means to raise up an indigenous church, and for honest research and literature production which in turn could inform and invigorate God's people for their task. Something of John Newton, Charles Forman, John Wilson, Alexander Duff, Daniel Bliss, Henry Jessup and Ion Keith-Falconer is continued in Zwemer! On the other hand, he belonged to the twentieth century: to the ecumenical-missionary movement and the heightened emphasis on evangelism as "Proclamation".

In the final portion of this study, it is proposed to consider S. M. Zwemer as a faithful representative of the pioneering and maturing process of Reformed missions to Muslims. To accomplish this, three periods/realms of his life's activities will first be briefly surveyed. Then will follow a closer examination of the substance of his contributions to three vital themes: the Church, Islam and Evangelism, attending to the growth in his thought and attitudes. Finally, particular attention will be focused on his role in the debate on mission and theology (1920-1938) which sharpened his views on "evangelism". Zwemer, the author is convinced, is worthy of serious consideration as the consummation of the "great century" of Reformed missions and as a commencer of the rediscovery of the "Word and Mission" with special reference to Islam.

The Life and Work of S. M. Zwemer, A Biographical Sketch

Samuel Marinus Zwemer was born April 12, 1867 at Vriesland, Michigan, the thirteenth of fifteen children.<sup>1</sup> From his Huguenot-Dutch parents, he inherited a strong Calvinistic conviction and from his frontier experiences, stamina and a sense of independence. Emigrating to the United States to settle at Rochester, New York, then Holland, Michigan; his father had studied theology under local ministers before serving various pastorates. Samuel took his preparatory work (1879-1883) then college studies at Hope College, Holland, Michigan (1883-1887). While in his senior year, he responded to an appeal to mission service as Robert Wilder visited the campus in behalf of the Student Volunteer Movement. Already active in the campus mission band, a member of the Reformed Church in America (March 9, 1884), and an experienced colporteur of the American Bible Society (summer, 1886), Samuel trained for the ministry at New Brunswick Theological Seminary (New Jersey), the oldest seminary in the nation. While a student there, he assisted in the medical clinic of Dr. William Wanless, later well-known missionary doctor to India.

First Milestone: A Founder and Pioneer in the Arabian Mission, 1888-1912

The idea of a Mission to Arabia, the heartland of Islam, was conceived by Zwemer and his fellow students, James Cantine and Philip T. Phelps under the inspiration of Professor J. G. Lansing in 1888. Active in the S.V.M. and acquainted with Robert Wilder, John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer, Zwemer selected the most difficult field available for his part in "The evangelization of the world in this generation". Twenty-three years were spent in Arabia in a sacrificial venture equal to that of

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<sup>1</sup>The author is deeply indebted to J. Christy Wilson, Apostle to Islam, A Biography of Samuel M. Zwemer (Grand Rapids, 1952) and William M. Miller for vital source materials and comments.



the White Fathers of the Sahara, yet realistically related to a changing world. Persisting in spite of great handicaps, the work at Basrah, Bahrain, Muscat and Kuwait bore "witness" to the life and light given in Christ.<sup>1</sup> Traversing great parts of that subcontinent and blessed with both literary and vocal gifts of expression, he became perhaps the recognized Reformed authority on Islam and Arabia. Though plagued with eye troubles for a time, he organized and led the Cairo Conference (1906), served as Field Secretary of the Reformed Mission Board (1907), became the first candidate secretary of S.V.M. recruiting missionaries of the caliber of Paul W. Harrison from various universities and seminaries (1908), and spoke at many conventions at the request of J. R. Mott and his home church. After the S.V.M. Convention at Rochester (January, 1910), this representative to Edinburgh (1910) was stimulated afresh to found and edit the periodical, The Moslem World. Back in Bahrain, he prepared for the Lucknow Conference, a tour of India and Y.M.C.A. Conferences in Bombay and Calcutta (1911). Although resembling a jig-saw puzzle, every piece of Zwemer's life had a part in his single purpose: the evangelization of the Muslim world.

A "Call" was extended to Zwemer in 1912 by the United Presbyterian Mission in Egypt and seconded by the C.M.S. (esp. Temple Gairdner), Nile Mission Press, Egypt General Mission, and the Y.M.C.A. to come to Cairo and make it a study center for Islamics, a production point for Christian Literature for Muslims, and other inter-denominational activity. Freed by the Arabian Mission, personally financed by a member of the Southern Presbyterian Church, encouraged by the Reformed Church in America and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), and provided with travel expenses by the "American Christian Literature Society for Moslems" (A.C.L.S.M., which he served as volunteer field secretary), Zwemer became a "missionary-at-large", the personification of ecumenical cooperation in missions to Muslims.

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<sup>1</sup>For additional background, cf. chapter three regarding the Arabian Mission.

Second Milestone: Literary Evangelist and Ecumenical Leader-at-Large, 1912-1928

Of these intense and creative years (1912-1928), Zwemer calculated he spent thirteen "in Cairo" and hence about three "on the road". Besides earning respect as an author and editor, Zwemer taught at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary and the Center for Oriental Studies in Cairo.<sup>1</sup> Literature and its impact gained prime place in his evangelistic concern. He never forgot a telegram from his colleague, Charles R. Watson:

"No agency can penetrate Islam so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly and influence so irresistibly as the printed page."<sup>2</sup>

For thirty-six years, Zwemer was editor of The Moslem World, a periodical which remains a mine of information, a source book on a half a century of mission work among Muslims.<sup>3</sup> The opening editorial states that the periodical's aim was to present a scientific study of Islam in English (as did Revue du Monde Musulman and Der Islam in French and German):

"The existence of all this literature, however, and the revival of interest in the great problem of Islam shown by the publication of these reviews, and the issue of a new 'Encyclopedia of Islam' simultaneously in three languages, only emphasize the opportunity and the place for an English quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans as they affect the Church of Christ and its missionary programme, if the Churches of Christendom are to reach the Moslem world with the Gospel. The Cairo Conference (1906) marked a new era in the attitude of Christian missions toward the subject. This Conference, through its reports and other missionary literature resulting from it, made clear the unity, the opportunity, and the importunity of the task of evangelizing Moslems everywhere. Missionary leaders felt that the Church was called to a deeper study of the problem, as well as to a more thorough preparation of its missionaries and a bolder faith in God, in order to solve it. To this end there is need for a common platform, a common forum of thought; a common organ for investigation and study."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, Apostle to Islam, pp. 78ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Appendix K, observing that a good portion of his articles on Islam fall in this period, 1912-1928.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. "Editorial," M.W., I (1911), 1-4.

This was a commentary on his own life-long aims. Again breathing the spirit of Edinburgh, 1910, this quarterly aimed:

"to represent no faction or fraction of the Church, but to be broad in the best sense of the word. Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of the faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life.' It is not a magazine of controversy, much less compromise. In essentials it seeks unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity. We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual, to Christians; to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelization of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are burst, its wounds are healed; its sorrows removed, and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Zwemer wisely created an editorial staff and a list of contributors which included the most eminent Islamic scholars and experienced workers available.<sup>2</sup> In addition to setting a scholarly standard in content and style, the first issue established a realistic if visionary missionary approach to Islam. With Charles R. Watson, Zwemer founded the A.C.L.S.M. (1910) which spent a quarter of a million dollars promoting literature for Muslims over thirty years.<sup>3</sup> Zwemer's own pen never seemed to stop its flow of ink. His prodigious output included articles, editorials, surveys, pamphlets and some fifty books over the years causing him later to reflect:

"The Moslem World Quarterly Review took a great deal of my spare time, and bound our mission by many ties of correspondence and friendship with scattered workers throughout the world of Islam....When I look back also to the six books in Arabic and the twenty-four tracts for Moslems...I can only thank God for the strength given me for so varied and extensive a literary effort."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>For example: James S. Dennis (Syria), W. H. T. Gairdner (Cairo), W. St. Clair Tisdall (Persia), Marshall Broomhall (China), H. U. Weitbrecht (India), E. M. Wherry (India) Johannes Lepsius (Deutsche Orient Mission, Potsdam Seminary), Julius Richter (Berlin), Friedrich Wurz (Basel Mission, editor of E.M.M.), D. B. Macdonald (Hartford), David S. Margoliouth (Oxford), A. J. Wensinck (Leiden), Alfred Guillaume (Durham), S. Khuda Bukhsh (Calcutta), Louis Massignon (Paris), H. Kraemer (Java), Murray T. Titus (Lucknow), et al.

<sup>3</sup>Wilson, Apostle to Islam, pp. 186ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 181f.



One must not forget that Zwemer was always involved in personal evangelism whether among the Arabs of Basrah, Bahrain or Cairo or the citizens of Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Books were a passion with him, but people, persons, especially Muslims were his 'first love'. His own 'personableness' was probably even more powerful than his pen. Inasmuch as personality is a bridge used of God, Zwemer was convinced that the Gospel is best communicated in "person to person" situations. While all efforts depend on the Bridge, the Incarnation, God uses disciples, the Church, in the horizontal task of linking men to Christ.<sup>1</sup> Zwemer describes his work during the war years in Neglected Arabia (publication of the Arabian Mission):

"...Schools, hospitals, the Mission Press and public meetings have been conducted as usual....Under the able direction of men like Mr. Wm. Jessup and Mr. H. W. White, a special evangelistic campaign was conducted for two weeks and hundreds of men made decisions for Christ.

"My special work this year, as heretofore, has been along literary lines in connection with the Nile Mission Press, teaching in the Theological Seminary and also at the Cairo Study Center. In the Theological Seminary this year we have sixteen students in the regular classes and fourteen in the evangelists' class, who are taking a special course. It is a rare privilege to read Al-Ghazali with these students from Assiut College who are preparing themselves for the ministry, and to study Islam with the future leaders of the Church in Egypt in order that they themselves may plan for the speedy evangelization of their own country.

"At the Cairo Study Center, Canon W. H. T. Gairdner has charge of language study and by his new method, through the use of phonetics and the colloquial, remarkable progress is being made. Mr. R. F. McNeile...and I have given lectures on Islam and methods of work. Twenty new missionaries of various societies are taking these courses....In the study of Islam one is more and more impressed how much Mohammed owed to Judaism and how much modern Jewish ritual is like that of Islam."<sup>2</sup>

Many other lasting associations with European and Arab scholars (e.g. D. B. Macdonald, Arthur Jeffery) were established in these years. In a circular letter (1924), Zwemer again wrote:

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<sup>1</sup>For the story of his work with students and professors at Al-Azhar with the convert Mikhail Mansoor, the placing of Bibles in the University Library and Students' hands, and his dealing with anti-Christian literature and feelings, cf. Ibid., pp. 88ff.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Ibid., pp. 85f.

"...Almost as soon as I arrived in September the course of lectures at the School of Oriental Studies for new missionaries began, and every week we have a group or groups numbering all the way from thirty to fifty present. I have lectured on Methods of Evangelism, the Moslem Christ, Mohammedan Mysticism, and am just now beginning a new course on Christian Literature for Moslems. In the Theological Seminary and the Evangelists' School we have similar courses, though more suitable to the Coptic students who attend. I have preached every Sunday since coming to Egypt, both in English and in Arabic. In addition to the churches in Cairo, it has been my privilege to visit Port Said, Benha, Zagazig, Assiut and other centers for conferences of the native church. At these conferences, it will interest you to know, we are using a new study book in Arabic, entitled 'The Nearest Way to the Moslem Heart.'...I was able to complete the manuscript of a new book to be entitled 'The Law of Apostasy.' It deals with the difficulties Moslem converts have, and how they surmount them....We are greatly encouraged because of its (Orient and Occident) increased circulation and the eagerness with which the Christian message is welcomed everywhere."<sup>1</sup>

The description of Zwemer as a natural leader and creator of plans by Presbyterian James Hunt reminds one of D. M. Thornton:

"He may be said to be a man of one idea. While his interests and knowledge were wide, I never talked with him ten minutes that the conversation did not veer to Islam....He also had an inventive mind, fertile with fresh plans for the work. Almost too much so, in fact, for practical work. In a committee meeting, his mind would scintillate with new ideas that would commend themselves to the rest of us....I recall that he said once after leaving such a meeting that he could suggest plans but he needed someone else to carry them out. He was always a lovable character and had a keen sense of humor that made him a delightful companion. He was the center of any group in which he might be."<sup>2</sup>

These insights help one understand the strengths and weaknesses of Zwemer, a man with the vision of an O.T. prophet and the diligence of a N.T. evangelist. It is not to be doubted that he stood in the larger company of respected scholars (the Cairo press referred to him as "the leading authority on Islamics from the Christian standpoint").<sup>3</sup>

As a Spokesman for the Mission to Muslims and an Ecumenical Leader, Zwemer stands in the ranks of Mott, Speer and others. He was particularly equipped to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 91f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 84f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 92. Zwemer received the Doctor of Divinity from Hope College (1904) and Rutgers University (1919) and the LL.D. from Muskingum College (1918). For his explorations in Yemen, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1900.

arouse the Church to fulfill her God-given obligation to the Muslim world. In 1913 he addressed Conferences in the Arab world and in the cities of Europe including Zurich. A Lecture Series at Princeton and addresses across America and Europe followed in 1915.<sup>1</sup> He lectured at Robert College (Istanbul) (1921) and later at a Student Conference at Smyrna. (His own Reformed Church in America elected him as President of General Synod in 1923.) To the various Mission Conferences, he made no small contribution. An honored platform crusader in the Student Volunteer Movement, he spoke at conventions at Nashville (1906), Rochester (1910) and Kansas City (1914). His Rochester words, "To His Kingdom there are no frontiers" were oft repeated. Sherwood Eddy respected him as "the blazing prophet of every platform summoning the Church to its most difficult task,"...whose greatest zeal was for the citizens of Arabia and Egypt.<sup>2</sup> After attending the Decennial at Madras (1902), he set to work organizing a Conference at Cairo especially dedicated to "Muslim Work" (1906). This was followed by Y.M.C.A. Conferences and the Lucknow Conference (1911), a visit to India and China (1917), and extensive training tours in India (1924, 1927-28). The latter sessions centered upon Christian Literature in Moslem Lands<sup>3</sup> and "How to Carry the Gospel Message to the Moslem Heart".<sup>4</sup> Zwemer's travel as a "Roving Ambassador" reached its peak between 1922 and 1927. In 1922, he and J. R. Mott visited the various groups across North Africa. With the same objectives of "Christian unity" and "literature", Zwemer traveled to the Dutch East Indies to cover 19,000 miles, 15 major conferences and make 99

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<sup>1</sup>His message on "The Fullness of Time in the Moslem World" at the Keswick Convention (July 21, 1915) moved a small group of people to prayer, including Annie Van Sommer. Becoming the "Fellowship of Faith for Muslims", this group still links together in partnership those concerned for the salvation of Muslims.

<sup>2</sup>S. Eddy, Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade (New York, 1945), p. 245.

<sup>3</sup>A study prepared in Cairo and edited by Zwemer released at this time.

<sup>4</sup>Wilson, Apostle to Islam, pp. 97ff, 143ff.



addresses.<sup>1</sup> One can imagine that this veteran made a considerable impact on young Hendrik Kraemer and the other 400 missionaries of some 16 Protestant Missions. Zwemer was equally impressed by the 45,000 converts won from Islam in Java and nearby Islands. He reported:

"Missions in Java are remarkable; (1) in the large results secured among an almost wholly Moslem population, and these results were secured not by superficial methods, but by a most thorough requirement for baptism. (2) In the preparation of Christian literature, including Bible translations, where the psychology of the people was taken into consideration, as perhaps on no other field. The Javanese mind was thoroughly understood in presenting the message, and therefore it received acceptance. (3) In spite of the many societies engaged in the work in one single field, the laws of comity have been strictly observed, and there is an increasing spirit of cooperation...."<sup>2</sup>

This helps one to better assess Zwemer's contribution to and appreciation of Kraemer's thunderbolt volume at Tambaram. After full reports at the Jerusalem Session (1924), Zwemer chaired a special conference at Bagdad for workers from Iraq, Iran and Arabia. In 1925, he participated in a Deputation to South Africa to alert these churches in their duties to Muslims. It is interesting that this able Dutch speaker stressed the implications of the Gospel on race relationships in the Johannesburg Conference. Again in 1926, he shared in a Conference at Tabriz, in a Persia with a "future, bright as the promise of God". Between 1925-1927, several trips were made West. This human dynamo ("a steam engine in breeches" according to Gairdner) addressed 14 Mission organizations and 36 other groups (some 37,000 persons) during 23 days in Britain to establish something of a record for his day. His contacts also included Tor Andrae of Sweden, Alfred Neilsen of Denmark and Julius Richter of Berlin. Such were the exploits of this enthusiast for the cause of Christ.

Two peaks of accomplishment, Cairo (1906) and Lucknow (1911), stand out in Zwemer's career. The consensus of opinion is that Cairo was "the beginning of a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-136.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Ibid., p. 125.

new era in the Christian Mission to Muslims".<sup>1</sup> Organized and led by Zwemer, the Cairo Conference set the pace for Edinburgh (1910) and the Continuation Committee. It inaugurated a more sympathetic, ecumenical Christian attitude and approach to Islam. Moreover it meant that for the first time, Christian workers (62 delegates of 29 societies) fearlessly assembled in a Muslim land to discuss their mission objectives regarding Muslims. Cairo represented a comprehensive understanding of the whole Muslim world; set forth the issues; united the participants in an evangelistic approach; examined the lessons of past failures; saw the role of positive (not polemical) literature; and challenged the whole Church to fulfill this phase of mission. It set into motion ventures in literature and evangelism still coming to fruition fifty years later. At Lucknow (1911), Zwemer was again the leading spirit. In a pre-conference sermon, he spoke of the duties of the Church as "elder brother" to the prodigal, Islam. This application of the biblical themes of Jacob-Ishmael, Elder-Prodigal, and our common need of the Father's mercy influenced the whole conference.<sup>2</sup> The papers discussed the Pan-Islamic movement, political changes and governmental attitudes towards missions, Islamic advances among pagan peoples, missionary training and literature, and Islamic reform movements.<sup>3</sup> Zwemer was at his best--surveying the sweep of world movements, providing factual data, and helping to set realistic goals in light of the situation and the Spirit's leading. He

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson considers these Conferences the zenith of Zwemer's career. Ibid., p. 176. The Cairo reports were Mohammedan World Today (New York, 1906), Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems (private circulation only, New York, 1906) and women's work in Our Moslem Sisters (New York, 1907).

<sup>2</sup>These same ideas are treated by E. Kellerhals in Der Islam (Basel, 1945).

<sup>3</sup>The Conference stimulated the forming of three Islamic Study Centers: the Newman School of Missions (Jerusalem), the Henry Martyn Institute (India), the School of Oriental Studies (Cairo); and the "Missionaries to Moslems League" (India) under John Tackle. For reports cf. Islam and Missions (New York, 1911), Daylight in the Harem (New York, 1912). The sympathetic spirit of the Conference was not necessarily conveyed in "The Conquest of the Moslem World", a most favorable Roman Catholic review by Professor A. Le Chatelier in the whole issue of Revue du Monde Musulman, 16 (1911).

could dramatically conclude that the victory belonged to Christ:

"As our eyes sweep the horizon of all these lands dominated or imperilled by this great rival faith, each seems to stand out as typical of the factors in the great problem....Each of these typical conditions in in itself an appeal. The supreme need of the Moslem world is Jesus Christ. He alone can give light to Morocco, unity to Persia, life to Arabia, re-birth to Egypt,...."<sup>1</sup>

Theologically, an Evangelical by conviction (to some a conservative one), Zwemer would consider no compromise of the deity, incarnation and resurrection of Christ or the evangelistic nature of the Church's work. Yet he was always a most winsome figure at these gatherings. Latourette says:

"Zwemer was a forceful speaker, pungent, and with an apt phrase to give point to his message. He had a robust sense of humor and an endless supply of stories. He was gifted with seemingly inexhaustible physical and nervous energy. Highly emotional, he never seemed to be fatigued by his outpouring of himself in speech or conference."<sup>2</sup>

Third Milestone: Princeton and the Debate on Mission, 1929-1938

In 1928, Zwemer accepted the position of Professor of the History of Religion and Christian Missions at Princeton Theological Seminary, a post he had been offered already in 1918. His endeavors resulted in The Origin of Religion (1935) and seminars on missions which were well-known among students and missionaries in residence for their blend of fact, wit and inspiration. Even in his sixties he was the coveted guest speaker across North America and Great Britain. As will be seen, he continued to set forth the Evangelical position amid the Crisis of Theology and Mission. Even after his retirement (1938), the writings, teachings, and travels of this tireless disciple were most discerning and breathed of the deep personal faith in Christ which had set this dynamic life into motion. Only in April 2, 1952, did Zwemer exchange this active life for the fuller experience of "Taking Hold of God".

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<sup>1</sup> Islam and Missions, pp. 41f.

<sup>2</sup> K. S. Latourette, "Samuel M. Zwemer: A Centennial," The Church Herald (Grand Rapids), March 24, 1967, p. 15.



The prolific pen of Samuel Zwemer produced works of varied character and quality. A perusal of the appended bibliography reveals how extensive were their scope.<sup>1</sup> Much of the material is in a popular style yet without sacrifice of accuracy. A good portion of his English works ("a five foot shelf") were translated into Dutch, French, German, Danish, Spanish, Urdu and Chinese. Indeed for Zwemer printed pages were the "leaves for the healing of the nations". Several categories soon emerge in his writings. First are those written to inform and challenge the Church in her mission to Islam. These volumes on "missiology" were written mainly in the field and directed to the home-churches, students, missionary recruits and workers.<sup>2</sup> During the Crisis in theology and mission (1920-1940), his Evangelical concepts were set forth with clarity.<sup>3</sup> Second are his scholarly studies in historical and popular Islam. Whereas Gairdner delved into philosophical-theological Islam with a mind to apologetics, Zwemer leaned towards the study of the present phenomena-theology of Muslims in order to achieve more effective "proclamation". Some scholars consider his first hand observations and discerning accounts of "Popular Islam" his most exacting contribution to scholarship. Undoubtedly he was one of the best informed men (from the West) of his day regarding contemporary Muslim belief and practice around the world. His "Factual Surveys" and statistics on the Muslim World within each decade fall into this group.<sup>4</sup> Third were his

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix K and Wilson, Apostle to Islam, pp. 193ff.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. cf. Arabia: The Cradle of Islam (1900), Islam, A Challenge to Faith (1907), The Unoccupied Mission Fields (1911), Mohammed or Christ (1915), The Disintegration of Islam (1916), The Law of Apostasy in Islam (1923), and Across the World of Islam (1929).

<sup>3</sup>E.g. cf. Christianity the Final Religion (1920), Thinking Missions with Christ (1934), The Solitary Throne (1937), Dynamic Christianity and the World Today (1939), Into All the World (1943), and Evangelism Today (1944).

<sup>4</sup>E.g. cf. The Moslem Doctrine of God (1905), The Moslem Christ (1912), The Influence of Animism on Islam (1920), A Moslem Seeker After God, Life of Al-Ghazali (1921), Studies in Popular Islam (1939), and Heirs of the Prophets (1946). There is considerable overlapping between these works and the articles in the Moslem World.

writings and tracts in Arabic for Muslims and the Christians of the Near East.<sup>1</sup>  
Fourth are the biographical and devotional works prepared for a wider audience.<sup>2</sup>  
The essence of his thought will now be examined.

#### An Examination of the Thought and Contributions of Zwemer

The major contributions of Zwemer were made before his retirement from Princeton Seminary in 1938, with the peak of his labors falling within the active Cairo years, 1912-1928. To emphasize the strengths of each, the contributions of Zwemer will be treated in reverse order of those of Gairdner. Gairdner began by concentrating upon evangelism (apologetics and student work), enlarged his scholarly study of Islam and came to the matured conclusion that "mission" in the Near East depended largely upon the attitude and action of the national churches. While Zwemer came from a solid "Church" background and hoped to establish the Church in every land, he never engaged in the pastoral-priestly role that Gairdner did. To the end he remained the prophet-evangelist examining Islam primarily in its popular form to more effectively engage in a precise proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus the reverse order of Church-World-Word.

#### Zwemer's Understanding of the Church

First to be noted is Zwemer's deep love for the Church, those called of God. He shared a loyalty to the Reformed Church in America and as a Calvinist saw the Church as the present manifestation of the Kingdom of God. As an Evangelical "churchman", he was not one to be restricted by its "organizational life" or any

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<sup>1</sup>Esp. cf. "The Nearest Way to the Moslem Heart" so appreciated by Temple Gairdner and the most extensively used tract, "Do You Pray?"

<sup>2</sup>E.g. cf., Raymond Lull (1902), The Glory of the Cross (1928), Taking Hold of God (1936), It is Hard to be a Christian (1937), The Glory of the Manger (1940), The Art of Listening to God (1940), The Glory of the Empty Tomb (1947), How Rich the Harvest (1948), and Sons of Adam (1951).

narrow interpretation of its message. Traditions must ever be subservient to the biblical message. In short he held that the Church's form must ever be shaped and reshaped by her message, mission and Master. When the Reformed Church in America felt unable (financially) to take up the work in Arabia, he helped establish an independent "Arabian Mission" until such time as the church-at-large rallied to the cause. Although a strong organizer himself, he saw the Church as a community of believers, a people of faith surmounting denominational borders. Thus without any qualms of conscience he transferred his membership to the sister Presbyterian Church, as then required of the Princeton Seminary faculty. The Church for Zwemer was Holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Doxological. It was supra-national, supra-denominational, supra-lingual, supra-racial--and so was he. The Church beloved of Christ was to be loved by His followers.

Secondly, one notes that Zwemer's life was a challenge to the Church, a call to mission. The Church's life and mission are inseparably linked. She only lives in Christ as she witnesses to Him. The larger portion of his books and articles attempt to arouse the Church--student, laity and clergy to "mission". Early in life, he appears to have had a "geographical" concept of mission in mind. It was the "language" of the day (Edinburgh, 1910), to speak of the Church's responsibility for the "unoccupied areas" of the world.

"The unoccupied fields of the world have a claim of peculiar weight and urgency upon the attention and missionary effort of the Church. In this twentieth century of Christian history there should be no unoccupied fields. The Church is bound to remedy this lamentable condition with the least possible delay...the closed doors are few compared with the open doors unentered. It is the neglected opportunities that are the reproach of the Church. A large proportion of the unoccupied fields are to be found within the Mohammedan world, not only in Northern Africa and in Western Asia, but also in China. Indeed,<sup>1</sup> by far the greater part of the Mohammedan world is particularly unoccupied."

Yet the Church would be extended until she displaced the mosque as she once

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<sup>1</sup>Zwemer, The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia, pp. viii ff.



displaced the synagogue. While the Church might incidently benefit from "European" expansion, Zwemer like Gairdner was concerned that the two should never be blurred into one. The Church must be established wherever Islam was disintegrating and must engage in the struggle for "unoccupied" Africa.<sup>1</sup> While conscious of the Church's failings in her dealings with Islam, especially those who were true seekers after God, he never placed the blame so completely on the Church's shoulders as did some. He was too cognizant of the implications of mankind's revolt, the operation of evil-demonic powers in the universe, to do that. Even the system of Islam, with its controls and crippling environment, exercised a deadening influence which could not be easily shaken off.<sup>2</sup> As time passed, Zwemer saw the old geographical boundaries in a "shrinking world" crumble. "Christendom" and Dar-al-Islam were neither accurate nor useful titles with society everywhere becoming more "pluralistic". Zwemer increased his stress on "person to person" action, for although the Islamic system might lose some of its political controls (disintegrate), Muslims as "persons" would continue long into the unforeseeable future. If such a world was to be changed, it must be permeated by "new persons" in Christ. Only "ambassadors" of Christ with an unchanging message and Master could cope with these changes. Zwemer thus applies his blend of individualism and "moravian" motivation to the changing world of the twentieth century. In a period when the Church was under fire, he confessed that her life, theology and mission (motives, aims, and methods), her organization and membership must be tested by Christ alone.

Finally, Zwemer's Concept of the Church implied a call to unity. Participating in the ecumenical movement from its student-missionary genesis, he was active in its many conferences, councils and committees and lived to see the emergence of the World Council of Churches. His pragmatic emphasis was "unity" for the sake

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Disintegration of Islam and Mohammed or Christ, passim.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. The Law of Apostasy.

of "mission" (Jn. 17:21), "form" as determined by "function". The central message "Be ye reconciled" applied to Christian community as well as to non-Christian listener. As he pondered over a map revealing how Christian forces in Muslim lands were still vital if dormant and tragically divided, he says:

"The time has come for securing a united front. Competition is fatal over against Islam. Nor must we forget in this connection the debt we owe to the past....And did not the mantle of Raymond Lull fall on the 'White Fathers' as well as on Ion Keith Falconer and Thomas Valpy French? We can surely emphasise our unity in the words of the Apostle; 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is over all and through all and in all.'...In union will be our strength; none of us can do it alone, nor can any one Society in any one field."<sup>1</sup>

Zwemer's awareness of the debt of the Reformed Churches to their brethren under Rome, his affection for Raymond Lull and St. Francis of Assisi, and his cooperation with Roman Catholic scholars and clergy may come as a surprise for those unaware of his magnanimity. No bare theorist, Zwemer proposed concrete action in common scholarship,<sup>2</sup> in creating a "catholic" apologetics,<sup>3</sup> and in strategic survey and expansion as begun by the Continuation Committee. Zwemer's dealings with the Orthodox Churches are marked by understanding:

"The history of the Armenian Church (faithful unto death during persecution), the present-day reforms in the Coptic Church, and the growing sense of responsibility among the younger leaders in some of the Oriental Churches for evangelization of the Moslems, are full of encouragement. We are too apt to underestimate the spiritual forces that remain alive throughout all the Moslem lands of the East. But the issues at stake are too vital and the urgency too great for anything but united effort."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. "A United Front Over Against Islam," M.W., 4 (1914), 339.

<sup>2</sup>He notes that "the guild of scholarship (incl. Jesuits) offers opportunities for religious fellowship, in which our very diversities lead to enrichment and do not tend to separation, but to mutual understanding." Cf. Mohammed or Christ, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>"...the Christian Church Catholic will be forced to work out her theology and creeds experientially in contact and conflict with unitarian, deistic Islam. In this respect the Mohammedan problem may possibly be as life from the dead to the Oriental Churches, when they face its real and spiritual issues and become conscious of the duty of evangelism. The doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Holy Spirit are not pieces of polished armoury to be kept on exhibition in proof of our orthodoxy but are vital to the very life of the Christian." cf. Ibid., p.48.

<sup>4</sup>"A Factual Survey of the Moslem World" (1946), p. 28.

Zwemer visualized first bringing all Protestant Christians into a unified program of world evangelism, then gradually drawing in Orthodox and Roman Catholic bodies. Yet he never developed his concept of "world church" due to his preoccupation with world evangelization and thus remains best known as an "evangelist". To the leaders of the ecumenical movement, he left this advice:

"If there is to be a new global-strategy on the part of all of Christendom and if the World Council of Churches is to be more than a name and a dream, the Moslem world must have a primary place in such strategy."<sup>1</sup>

Long comprehending the need for a new baptism of apostolic wisdom and energy, Zwemer urged the Church to practice self-denial that the Muslim world might be evangelized.<sup>2</sup>

#### Zwemer's Understanding of Islam

In the ever growing understanding of Islam found in Zwemer, one can detect something of two views. In the first quarter of a century of his active ministry (ca. 1890-1915/16), Zwemer reflects the legacy of the nineteenth century which pits Christianity as a system over against the various non-Christian religious systems. The terminal point for this policy of "radical displacement" is found in The Disintegration of Islam (1915) or Mohammed or Christ (1916). In a second quarter (ca. 1915-1938 etc.), a second approach gradually emerges and matures which can be described as "anthropological and Christocentric". Without compromising his criticism of Islam as a system, he began a sympathetic study of the Muslim as a "man" needing and seeking God. After study of popular Islam (the practices of the man on the street), Al-Ghazali and mysticism, Zwemer's terminology includes "our Muslim brethren," etc. This humanly sympathetic approach to the Muslim is

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Islam, A Challenge to Faith (1907), p. 224 and "Editorial", M.W., 7 (1917), 219ff.



paralleled in his idea of evangelism as the proclamation of the Christocentric Message.

In his earlier "aggressive" approach to Islam, Zwemer saw Islam as an overwhelming system controlling vast multitudes and portions of the earth. While it was never as monolithic as nineteenth century Europe imagined, for all practical purposes Islamic law and rulers were in control. In fear or wisdom, Europe had long bypassed the Near East. Although Zwemer allowed his view (of Islam as an animated system which stood or fell as a single entity) to long influence his vocabulary, it is to his credit that he set out to penetrate this "myth" or "reality". His research and writings revealed Islam to be far from impregnable. His exposition of Islam as a system of belief and practice (e.g. its origin, nature, Prophet, Book, history, view of God and Christ) was a challenge to the Church.

According to Zwemer, the Church must become a serious student of Islam before it can effectively fulfill its mission:

"But if we are to reach that [Muslim] world with the gospel of Christ we must first know of it and know it. There is no lack of literature on Mohammed and Islam, as is evident from the very extensive bibliography of the subject in all the languages of Europe not to speak of the literature written by Moslems themselves. But at the same time there is a great ignorance even among cultured people of the real character of Mohammed and the real doctrine and moral value of Islam, as well as of its widespread aggressive power as a missionary religion."<sup>1</sup>

Zwemer offered his studies from "the midst of Islam" as a balance to the historical-literary scholarship of Islam in the West. Many prejudicial and idealistic views of Islam were partly the result of remaining at a distance.

"The spiritual burden of Arabia is the Mohammedan religion and it is in its cradle we can best see the fruits of Islam. We have sought to trace the spiritual as well as the physical geography of Arabia by showing Islam grew out of the earlier Judaism, Sabeanism and Christianity. The purpose of this book is especially to call attention to Arabia and the need of missionary work for the Arabs....We pray also that the number of those who love the Arabs and labor for their enlightenment and redemption may increase."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. preface of Islam, A Challenge to Faith (1907), p. vii.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. preface to Arabia: The Cradle of Islam (1900), p. 5.

Agreeing with Rabbi Geiger and Tisdall on the origin and nature of Islam, Zwemer held that the genius Muhammad had drawn on the material of older faiths to shaped this "new" composite religion. While there was a "time of ignorance" immediately before Muhammad, it was incorrect to apply this too far:

"No part of Arabia has ever reached the high stage of civilization under the rule of Islam which Yemen enjoyed under its Christian or even its Jewish dynasties of the Himyarites."<sup>1</sup>

Feuding Roman, Abyssinian, Persian and Ghassan<sup>id</sup> rulers plus internal breakdown in Arabia prompted Muhammad to lead the reaction, reform and return to the monotheism of the Hanifs (the religion of Abraham):

"It is only a step from Hanifism to Islam. Primary Monotheism, Sabeanism, idolatry, fetishism, Hanifism, and then the prophet with the sword to bring everything back to monotheism--monotheism, as modified by his own needs and character and compromise. The time of ignorance was a time of chaos. Everything was ready for one who could take in the whole situation, social, political and religious and form a cosmos. That man was Mohammed....The result of a century of critical study by European and American scholars of every school of thought has certainly established the fact that Islam is a composite religion....These heterogeneous elements of Islam were gathered in Arabia at a time when many religions had penetrated the peninsula, and the Kaaba was a Pantheon. Unless one has a knowledge of these elements of 'the time of ignorance,' Islam is a problem. Knowing, however, these heathen, Christian and Jewish factors, Islam is seen to be a perfectly natural and understandable development."<sup>2</sup>

Islam's greatest danger lies in the Prophet's near-deification:

"Islam denies the need of a mediator or of the incarnation, but it is evident that, in popular thought and in Moslem writings, Mohammed acts as a mediator, without an incarnation, without an atonement, without demand for change of character (e.g. the 'coronation hymn' of Islam, El Burda, the Mantle)."<sup>3</sup>

What really irks Zwemer is Western writers like Carlyle and Bosworth Smith who accept Muhammad as "a very Prophet of God" yet ignore his obvious sins.<sup>4</sup> Turning to Arabic sources, Zwemer cuts through this "gloss";

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 168, 170.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Arabia, pp. 179ff, Islam, pp. 29ff.

<sup>4</sup>In 1900, Zwemer accepted Koelle's estimate that Muhammad was a clever and ambitious enthusiast. Cf. Arabia, pp. 181f.

"It is possible to measure the prophet by three standards, of which two at least would seem to be a fair test: the law of the Pagan Arabs, the law he himself professed to reveal, and the law of the Old and New Testaments, which he professed to approve and supercede....Yet on basis of this and the Arab accounts themselves Mohammed is revealed indeed as a very finite man with many failings and deeds contrary to the above codes. So the Koran also admits. Yet the Traditions and practice of Muslims have made Mohammed almost sinless, divine, an intercessor, ever proclaiming his 'apotheosis'."<sup>1</sup>

While admiring the heights to which the Quran soars, Zwemer feels its total impact is "jumbled".

"...the Koran is remarkable most of all not because of its contents, but because of its omissions. Not because of what it reveals but for what it conceals of 'former revelation.'...It...seems to ignore the first and great barrier to such reconciliation, viz: SIN. Of this the Old and New Testaments are always speaking. Sin and Salvation are the subject of which the Torah and the Zaboor and the Injil are full. The Koran is silent or if not absolutely silent, keeps this great question ever in the background."<sup>2</sup>

If such is its origin, founder and book, how does one explain Islam's spread?

"Many theories have been laid down and the true explanation is probably the sum of all of them. The weakness of Oriental Christianity and the corrupt state of the church; the condition of the Roman and Persian empires; the character of the new religion; the power of the sword and fanaticism; the genius of Mohammed; the partial truth of his teaching; the genius of Mohammed's successors; the hope of plunder and the love of conquest;—such are some of the causes given for the early and rapid success of Islam."<sup>3</sup>

What was Zwemer's method for understanding Islam over against Christianity, for demonstrating the latter's "superiority" at this time? Like many Evangelicals of the late nineteenth century, he used ethical-social arguments, the moderate forms of historical criticism, and the scientific-comparative study of religion.<sup>4</sup> He was not unmoved by the thought of Schleiermacher and Ritschl:

"...The religion of Christ contains whole fields of morality and whole realms of thought which are but outside the religion of Mohammed....Its realized ideals in the various paths of human greatness have been more commanding,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Islam (1907), pp. 42,46.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Arabia (1900), pp. 189f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>4</sup>E.g. cf. James Dennis, Missions and Social Progress.



more many-sided, more holy....Finally, the ideal life of all, is far more elevating, far more majestic, far more inspiring, even as the life of the founder of Mohammedanism is below the life of the Founder of Christianity."<sup>1</sup>

Yet while admitting "ethics" (fruit) as a test of religion, he held to the Incarnation, the Atonement (Cross) and the Biblical accounts as objective realities. When it comes down to the "bare facts", a comparative study of Muslim and Christian ideas of God breaks down, and the only valid test for Zwemer is the Revelation given by God in Christ.

"In the comparative study of religious ideas there must be a standard of judgment, and a Christian can only judge other religions by the standard of the Gospel, Islam itself, through its prophet and in its Book challenges comparison by this standard. We are not dealing with the monotheism of Greek philosophy which arose in the Court of the Gentiles under Plato and Aristotle; but with a monotheism which arose six centuries after Christ and professes to be an improvement or at least a restatement of the Christian idea (cf. Surahs 42:1, 10:37, 93, 5:77, etc.). We accept therefore, Islam's challenge. Jesus Christ proclaimed that no man knows the Father save through the Son.... that He came on a unique and transcendent mission from the court of heaven-- to show us the Father. Instead of arriving at his theology through the mind of Christ, as revealed in the gospels and developed through the Holy Spirit's teaching in the epistles, Mohammed went back to natural theology. He did not use, or would not use, the channel of knowledge opened by the Incarnation. Instead of learning from Him who descended from heaven, Mohammed asserted that he himself ascended to heaven and there had intercourse with God (Surah 17:2 and the commentaries)."<sup>2</sup>

Already at this point one can see Zwemer is moving towards a position which foreshadowed Barth, Brunner and Krämer. "Revelation", especially as given in Christ is not only the test of all "religions" but the key to man's "knowledge" and experience of the redeemed life. On this basis he set to work to examine the theology of Islam in two valuable volumes: The Moslem Doctrine of God (1905) and The Moslem Christ (1912).

"Unless we know the Moslem's idea of God we cannot understand his creed nor judge his philosophy, nor intelligently communicate our idea of God to him. The strength of Islam is not in its ritual or in its ethics, but in its tremendous and fanatical grasp on the one great truth--Monotheism."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Islam, pp. 131f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. The Moslem Doctrine of God (1905), p. 109.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

As a scholar, Zwemer insists on consulting the primary sources: the Quran, the accepted Muslim commentaries and the Traditions (edition of Mishkat-al-Masabih). Drawing upon materials from nature, Arab religions and Judaeo-Christian contacts, Muhammad's concept of God stresses the oneness of God so exclusively that human life is barren.

"Mohammed's idea of God is out and out deistic. God and the world are in exclusive, external and eternal opposition. On an entrance of God into the world or of any sort of human fellowship with God he knows nothing. This is the reason Islam received the warm sympathies of English deists and German rationalists; they found in its idea of God flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone."<sup>1</sup>

God is known as "the name of the essence" (Ism-adh-Dhāt) or the "Being" that is absolute sovereignty and omnipotence. Other than that he is defined mainly by negations (e.g. impersonal: not body, nor spirit, does not beget). A study of the "Ninety Nine Names of Allah" shows they describe his terrible and glorious attributes: Unity, Creatorship, Mercy (24), Powerful Sovereignty (36), Power to avenge and hurt, and moral or forensic traits. Zwemer believes that Muhammad grasped the idea of God's Power as revealed in nature but failed to glimpse His holiness and love. This was partly due to a neglect of "sin". Palgrave rightly called "Allah" the "Pantheism of Force or Act":

"God's will is absolute and alone; the predestination of every thing and everybody to good or ill according to the caprice of sovereignty. For there is no Fatherhood and no purpose of redemption to soften the doctrine of the decrees. Hell must be filled and so Allah creates infidels. The statements of the Koran on this doctrine are coarse and of tradition, blasphemous. Islam reduces God to the category of the will; He is a despot, an Oriental despot, and as the moral-law is not emphasized, He is not bound by any standard of justice."<sup>2</sup>

This is quite different from Paul's or Calvin's understanding of "predestination" as a grateful confidence in God's Grace. Islam's "one-sided truth" reduces men to pawns on a chess-board (cf. Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam), rules out human will,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 21f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Arabia (1900), p. 175.

declares good and evil come directly from God, and produces a pessimistic "fatalism" which breeds fear and inactivity.<sup>1</sup> In light of Zwemer's criteria, Islamic monotheism has serious omissions which may be summarized thus:

First, "there is no Fatherhood of God" and hence no true brotherhood of man, only an exclusive brotherhood of believers. Second, "the Moslem idea of God is conspicuously lacking in the attribute of love" producing a being who is incapable of loving or being loved, a figure from which even Muslim mysticism revolted. Third, "Allah is not absolutely, unchangeably, and eternally just", sin and atonement are minimized and God's law is the expression of arbitrary will not his moral nature.<sup>2</sup>

For Zwemer, "The Cross of Christ is the missing link in the Moslem's Creed" for in it the justice and love of God, sin and salvation come together, and men find reconciliation, true brotherhood.<sup>3</sup>

Relying on careful research in the Quran, the commentators and Traditions, Zwemer studies The Moslem Christ (1912), accurately unveiling that knowledge necessary if one hopes to lead Muslims to the Christ disclosed in the New Testament. It is regrettable that Muslims depend more upon the Traditions and the teachings of the mullahs than upon the Quran. For while the Quranic account of Christ is piecemeal, lacks chronological or logical sequence, it is at least somewhat "open" as to whether Christ died or not (cf. Surah 3:47-50, 19:34, 4:155-156). But the Traditions are the "spoilers":

"A study of the Koran commentaries on the texts given will show how later tradition has taken the outlines of Mohammed's revelation and made the picture more real, more full, but also more fantastic. Whatever was unintelligible or contradictory in the words of Mohammed's revelation could only be interpreted and made clear by means of tradition, and this applied not only to the legislative portions of the Koran, but also in its historical material....According

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Moslem Doctrine of God, pp. 75ff, 93ff. Also cf. W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam (London, 1948).

<sup>2</sup>Extracted from Moslem Doctrine of God, pp. 109f.

<sup>3</sup>At this point Zwemer is following the 19th century pattern of stressing the "Work" of Christ. With the failure to find the "historical Jesus" and the abuse of Jesus as the pinnacle of "spirit" or "ideal", Zwemer and others were forced to rethink and restate the inseparateness of the Person and Work of Christ (1920-1940).



to Goldziher, tradition is the normative principle in Islam."<sup>1</sup> Much of Tradition is a denial that Jesus is the "Son of God", the pre-existent One --that he died on the Cross or is the way of salvation. While admitting his dignity, sinlessness, miracles, and live-presence in heaven, Jesus is still simply a man announcing Muhammad's coming. Even the content of Christ's teaching was slowly modified and ascribed to the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> Because "Jesus Christ has been supplanted by Mohammed" in the mentality of the Muslim community, Islam poses a problem different from any other religion.<sup>3</sup>

"The sin and guilt of the Mohammedan world is that they give Christ's glory to another, and that for all practical purposes Mohammed himself is the Moslem Christ.... Jesus Christ is supplanted by Mohammed not only in Moslem tradition and in the hearts of the common people who are ignorant and illiterate. He is supplanted in the hearts of all Moslems by Mohammed. They are jealous for his glory and resist any attempt to magnify the glory of Jesus Christ at the expense of Mohammed."<sup>4</sup>

While Islam ignores or distorts the basic facts of Christ's life, person and work, and gives him "a place" by "displacing Him", there is still point of contact:

"The very fact that Jesus Christ has a place in the literature of Islam, and is acknowledged by all Moslems as one of their prophets, in itself challenges comparison between Him and Mohammed, and affords an opportunity for the Christian missionary to ask every sincere Moslem, 'What think ye of the Christ?' This is still the question that decides the destiny of men and nations."<sup>5</sup>

It is in the Muslim names for Christ that Zwemer finds the most promising point

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. The Moslem Christ (1912), p. 53. Goldziher in Muhammedanische Studien, II, p. 268 holds that the Muslim traditions were contributed largely by Christian renegades. Cf. Ibid., pp. 13f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 113ff.

<sup>3</sup>At this point Zwemer agrees with Gairdner. How can Christianity ever be called the fulfillment of Islam (Farquhar's concept). "How can that which denies the whole essential and particular content of the message be said to prepare for Him, or to be a half-way house to His Kingdom?" Gairdner, Reproach of Islam (p. 141) quoted in Zwemer, Moslem Christ, pp. 155ff.

<sup>4</sup>Zwemer, Moslem Christ, pp. 157, 166.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 7, 173.

of contact.<sup>1</sup> Of these, "The Word of God" and "The Spirit from God" offer the greatest hope for leading Muslims into the depths of faith. One wishes Zwemer would have developed more fully the role of the "Present Christ" as King and Intercessor inasmuch as Muslims admit Christ's presence in heaven and the expected return. On this basis of "names", Zwemer counsels regarding "how to preach Christ to Moslems who know Jesus".

What is the relation of Christianity to Islam as a system? Zwemer's early books speak of confrontation, clash and "radical displacement". Yet in fairness to this view of "occupation", it must be said that he did not call for any militant religious imperialism, but only for the establishment of a Christian witness in Muslim lands until such time as the Kingdom of Christ would displace the religions of the world. A most interesting book is, The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia (1911). In the transitional period surrounding "Edinburgh, 1910", one finds Zwemer is also a "child of his times". He voices all the various arguments for nineteenth century missions: appeals to individual need (Pietism), reason (Protestant Scholasticism), experience and feeling (Schleiermacher), moral values (Ritschl), social needs (James Dennis), as well as the concern for the Command and Glory of Christ the Redeemer.<sup>2</sup> Very soon however Zwemer clarifies his own "Christological-anthropological" motives and approach to shed much of this subjectivism and moral-social appeal.

The Disintegration of Islam (1915) marks something of a turning point in Zwemer's understanding of Islam and the Christian approach. What did he mean by "disintegration"? Zwemer observed that Islam was undergoing a transition (not necessarily "disappearing"). He interpreted that as a sign that Islam (as a powerful political-social-economical-religious system dominating life and lands from

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<sup>1</sup>E.g. 'Īsā, Son of Mary (al-Masīh), The Word of God (Kalimat Allāh), Spirit of God (Rūh Allāh) and Prophet (Rasūl Apostle/Messenger or Nabī prophet).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Unoccupied Mission Fields (1911), pp. 95, 123, 126, 153, et passim.

India to Africa, Europe to Asia) was "cracking", even though Islam as a "religion of the heart" might continue for some time. There was some prophetic truth in his claim. For with the dissolution of the Caliphate in 1924, the formation of secular Turkey, the rise of Arab national states, the increase of education and the rejection of the bulk of Muslim tradition and practice, Islam's "iron grip" slowly relaxed. The peoples of the Near East are undergoing an emancipation, a transformation.

"Moslems have long realized the dead weight of formality called tradition, the accumulation of many centuries, is an intolerable burden. Frantic efforts have been made in many quarters to save the ship by throwing overboard much of this cargo. Others in their despair have sought for a new pilot. Messiahs and mahdis have arisen and founded new sects or started new movements. The progress of western civilization and its impact has been felt everywhere in the economic and social life of Islam. We must add to all this the utter collapse of Moslem political power in Africa, Europe, and Asia....We, however, believe that when the crescent wanes the Cross will prove dominant, and that the disintegration of Islam is a divine preparation for the evangelization of Moslem lands and the winning of Moslem hearts to a new allegiance. Jesus Christ is sufficient for them as He is for us. 'When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away.'<sup>1</sup>"

Zwemer's interpretation of developments in the modern world is not so far removed from the opinion of recent missiologists who contend that "secularization", a by-product of Christianity, is dissolving the grip of "religions" upon mankind.<sup>2</sup> This "crisis" of Islam and the "religions of man" can be interpreted as a sign of the coming of the Kingdom of Christ, however, only by those who already possess the presupposition of the Christian Faith.

In these five lectures given at Princeton, Zwemer sympathizes with young Muslims in revolt against traditional Sunni Islam:

"The revolt of Islam in its hard traditional form has generally been along one of three lines: attempts to spiritualize its doctrines [e.g. Al-Ghazali,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Disintegration, pp. 9f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Arend Th. van Leeuwen, Christianity in World History (London, 1964); M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to Asian Revolution (London, 1966); and Charles Davis, God's Grace in History. The Maurice Lectures, 1966 (Fontana, London, 1966).



Sufism]; attempts to rid it of excrescences, that is, to minimize the weight of traditions, as in the case of the Wahabis [or 'Back to the Quran' groups]; and finally, especially in recent years, syncretism by the establishment of new sects, such as Babism, Bahaism, and the Ahmadi movement. This might be called Moslem eclecticism."<sup>1</sup>

These latter resurgence groups benefit from Christ's "leaven" in society. But Zwemer was convinced that a new syncretic "world religion" borrowing the best of Christianity and Islam would fail:

"Yet our review of the New Islam and its future may well conclude by reminding ourselves of the scientific fact that hybrids do not propagate and by pointing out in the words of Tertullian that men do not generally care to die for the compromise made between the faith of the Church and the philosophies of the heathen world."<sup>2</sup>

With A. G. Hogg and the new thought on the continent of Europe, Zwemer recognized the "distinctive nature" of each religion. While one "religion" could not absorb the other per se, he agreed with Hurgronje that Islam like Judaism might well give her finest sons to Christianity, to Christ. Although he never took the radical stand against "natural theology" that Barth did, Zwemer insisted that Islam's best (e.g. Al-Ghazali, Abdul-Wahab) fell short and could find redemption only in Christ.<sup>3</sup>

But it is in the fifth lecture and a portion of Mohammed or Christ (1916) that Zwemer's "anthropological-Christocentric" approach begins to emerge. In the "present-day attitude" of some educated Muslims towards Christ he finds hopeful signs. The great upheaval, convulsions, tensions between the new and old orders in the Near East is creating a "fullness of time". A decisive new hour is dawning in Cairo, Constantinople and even Mecca. In the movement of history, God is working out His own will, ushering in His Kingdom. It is almost as if Zwemer is a liberated man. No longer is it his duty to make battle against Islam as a system. He can now concentrate on the Message which is Christocentric and eschatological,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Disintegration, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., esp. pp. 69, 73, 94f.

a Message of "Good News" for the Muslim as a man.<sup>1</sup>

Zwemer's sympathetic "anthropological-Christocentric" approach springs from his devotion to Christ and his personal affection for Muslims with whom he shares a common humanity. His scholarship took him to primary Arabic sources and first-hand research into actual Muslim beliefs and practices. The work of this leading authority on "Popular Islam" did not go unnoticed in the Muslim community.<sup>2</sup> Agreeing with Macdonald that "Islam must be taken as it is otherwise it is not Islam," Zwemer revealed that the Islam described by some Western "Orientalists" is not the Islam that is practiced. Zwemer's life-long study covers many areas of Muslim life: womanhood,<sup>3</sup> childhood,<sup>4</sup> statistical-geographical surveys,<sup>5</sup> influence of animism, popular practices, mysticism, Muslim Law and converts from Islam, and the clergy-leadership of Islam. A wealth of materials is found in the Moslem

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 181ff and Mohammed or Christ, esp. pp. 134f, 201ff. Compare this with Oscar Cullmann, "Eschatology and Missions in the New Testament," The Theology of the Christian Mission (ed. G. H. Anderson), pp. 42ff. The shock of World War I appears to have liberated many from the myth that they could or must build their utopia, bring in the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup>"Dr. Zwemer's writings on Islam were based on first-hand research in the Arabic sources and on first-hand investigation of Muslim beliefs and practices. The results are true and real descriptions of Muslim life and thought. His descriptions of popular Islam, dealing with wide-spread customs often not approved by Muslim religious leaders, since they were true, have tended to start actions that will change conditions and make his descriptions of historical rather than social interest." Cf. E. E. Calverly, Zwemer's obituary, M.W., 42 (1952), 157-59.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Our Moslem Sisters (1907) and Daylight in the Harem (1911) edited with Annie Van Sommer which contain articles from Cairo and Lucknow by such sensitive figures as Lilas Trotter. Zwemer's theme was that God's promises to Hagar are fulfilled in Christ.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Childhood in the Moslem World (1915), an expanded and illustrated version of Zwemer's address to the World Conference of Sunday School Association, Zurich, 1913.

<sup>5</sup>A remarkable statistician, Zwemer published his first survey of the Islamic world in The Missionary Review of the World (1898) which was followed by others at Cairo (1906), Lucknow (1911) and almost every decade (cf. M.W.) until his final appeal in behalf of the "unreached masses" in A Factual Survey of the Moslem World with Maps and Statistical Tables (New York, 1946).

World (1911-1947).<sup>1</sup>

The Influence of Animism on Islam (1920) reflects twenty-five years of keen observation, recording and evaluation of practices in Arabia and Egypt.<sup>2</sup> This most original work reveals a missionary-anthropologist at work:

"From the standpoint both of religion and culture animism has been described as 'the tap-root that sinks deepest in racial human experience and continues its cellular and fibrous structure in the tree-trunk of modern conviction.' All the great world religions show traces of animism in their sub-soil and none but Christianity (even that not completely) has uprooted the weed-growth of superstition. In this book it is our purpose to show how Islam sprang up in Pagan soil and retained many old Arabian beliefs in spite of its vigorous monotheism. Wherever Mohammedanism went it introduced old or adopted new superstitions. The result has been that as background of the whole ritual and even in the creed of popular Islam, animism has conquered. The religion of the common people from Tangier to Teheran is mixed with hundreds of superstitions, many of which have lost their original significance but still bind mind and heart with constant fear of demons, with witchcraft and sorcery and the call to creature-worship....popular Islam is altogether different from the religion recorded in its sacred Book. Our purpose in the chapters which follow is to show how this miry clay of animism mingles with the iron of Semitic theism....The rapid spread of Islam in Africa and Malaysia is, we believe, largely due to its animistic character. The primitive religions had points of contact with Islam that were mutually attractive. It stooped to conquer them but fell in stooping. The reformation of Islam if possible, must begin here. The student of Islam will never understand the common people unless he knows their curious beliefs and half-heathen practices. The missionary should not only know but sympathize. Avoiding contempt or denunciation he will even find points of contact in Animistic Islam that may lead discussion straight to the Cross and the Atonement. In popular Islam we have to deal with men and women groping after light and struggling in the mire for a firm foothold on the Rock. This book may help us to find their hand in the dark. As we read its pages we must not forget that even in Egypt and India over ninety-four per cent of the Moslem population is illiterate and therefore has no other religion than popular Islam."<sup>3</sup>

This preface is a self-revealing commentary on Zwemer's growing understanding of Islam in action. Islam's strength for him lies in its versatile three-stranded nature: an animism able to encompass and adapt almost any practice of pagan religion, a Semitic deism which can wear a "nationalistic" cloak, and its claim

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix K.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. half-page review in the New York Times book section (July 4, 1920).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Influence of Animism, pp. vii f.



to supersede all that Jesus was, did and taught. In twelve studies, Zwemer examines the "underground" religion in the Arab world.<sup>1</sup> These practices which Muslim leaders have often sought to suppress still persist.<sup>2</sup> Little escaped his experienced eye as he collected data and collaborated with scholars in Africa, India, China and the East Indies. His accounts reveal that many Muslims live in a spirit and demon-filled world.

Studies in Popular Islam (1939), a collection of papers prepared at Princeton, reveals extended research.<sup>3</sup> Zwemer's "museum" in Princeton became a clearing house for artifacts and data sent in by C. Padwick, L. Trotter and others. Alert to the rising tide of nationalism and reform in the Muslim world, Zwemer warns of an invisible "Undertow" backed by traditionalists (e.g. the Muslim Brotherhood):

"The same has been true in the long history of Islam and its relation to Christianity. At first there seemed to be a glorious rising tide of monotheistic faith in Islam, and a devotion to God--often sublime in its conception of Deity and of duty. This has been followed by the undertow of reactionary Arabian paganism. That was true even in the case of the Prophet Mohammed himself when he consecrated the Ka'aba-stone and then, for a moment, lapsed to pay honour to Lat and 'Uzza...(Surah 53:19). Some Koran chapters that rise, like 'the verse of the Throne' (Surah 2:256ff) and 'the verse of Light,' almost to the heights of Job and Isaiah, are followed by puerile passages full of animistic superstitions such as Solomon's jinn, Alexander's bellows-blowers, or Jewesses blowing on knots (Surah 113).

"We note the same undertow in the history of Moslem theology and jurisprudence, as Dr. Duncan B. MacDonald has shown in his interesting study of

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<sup>1</sup>Studies included: "(1) Islam and Animism, (2) Animism in the Creed and the Use of the Rosary, (3) Animistic Elements in Moslem Prayer, (4) Hair, Finger-Nails and the Hand, (5) The 'Aqiqa Sacrifice, (6) The Familiar Spirit or Qarina, (7) Jinn, (8) Pagan Practices in Connection with the Pilgrimage, (9) Magic and Sorcery, (10) Amulets, Charms and Knots, (11) Tree, Stone and Serpent Worship, (12) The Zar: Exorcism of Demons."

<sup>2</sup>E.g. A hair of the Prophet's head can still create more excitement in some quarters than the visit of a Head of State!

<sup>3</sup>Including "The Palladium of Islam (the Ka'aba); The Sword of Mohammed and 'Ali; The Clock, the Calender and the Koran; Translations of the Koran; The 'Illiterate' Prophet, The So-called 'Hadith Qudsi'; The Worship of Adam by Angels;" etc. Across the World of Islam (1929) is largely a travelogue which lacks the scholarly tone of the 1920 and 1939 volumes.

the subject. There have been puritanic revivals and popular reactions, periods of enlightenment and culture, when Islam held aloft the torch of civilization; these have been followed by dark centuries of ignorance and superstition. Al-Ghazali's call to repentance was forgotten for centuries while the mullahs pored over the pages of Al-Buni's encyclopaedia of magic and then the world of Islam became illiterate to an extent hardly credible."<sup>1</sup>

If the Muslim world ever develops its own school of historical-literary criticism, notes Zwemer, it would soon be cutting away at the essence of Islam.

During these years, Zwemer's affection for the Muslim seeking after God is growing and finds its fullest expression in his work on Al-Ghazali.<sup>2</sup> The Church's mission of love is described in the biblical imagery of the Parable of the Prodigal and Elder sons in need of the Father's mercy:

"Islam is the prodigal son, the Ishmael, among the non-Christian religions; this is a fact we may not forget. Now we read in Christ's matchless parable of the prodigal how 'When he was yet a great way off his father saw him and ran out to meet him and fell on his neck and kissed him.' Have missionaries always had this spirit? No one can read the story of Al-Ghazali's life, so near and yet so far from the Kingdom, so eager to enter and yet always groping for the doorway, without fervently wishing that Al-Ghazali could have met a true ambassador of Christ."<sup>3</sup>

The study of Al-Ghazali had helped Zwemer arrive at this point of appreciation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Studies in Popular Islam (1939), pp. vii ff.

<sup>2</sup>S. M. Zwemer, A Moslem Seeker After God: Showing Islam at its Best in the Life and Teaching of Al-Ghazali, Mystic and Theologian of the Eleventh Century (With Intro. by Dr. J. Rendel Harris, New York, 1920). Beginning with the earlier article by D. B. Macdonald (cf. "Life of Al-Ghazali," Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XX), Zwemer examines Al-Ghazali's environment, life, writings, ethics and understanding of Jesus.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 12f, and M.W., 32 (1942), 51-54.

<sup>4</sup>Al-Ghazali (d. 1111 A.D.) in his Ihyā' like Anselm (d. 1109 A.D.) in his Cur Deus Homo? refuted the philosophers of the day in effort to establish a theology alive with mystical faith. For him religion was more than law or doctrine. It was the Soul's experience. The danger with infatuation with mathematics and philosophy which rest upon "proofs" is that one is tempted to miss the religious truth he cannot perceive. Neither ignoring nor rejecting the sciences, Al-Ghazali argues for the fact and experience of Revelation. After passing from the traditional Islamic view backed by rational proofs (as professor of Nizamiyya College in Bagdad) through scepticism to sufi mysticism, he experienced a new consciousness of God (age of 38). In his next ten years of wandering, teaching and writing, he wedded the experience and enlightenment of mystic faith to traditional Sunni theology. Zwemer gives most attention to his major work, Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-Dīn (The Revival of Religious Sciences).

Zwemer's tributes to this man are startling: "Such a rosary of pearls from Al-Ghazali's works might well be used for devotion by Christians as well as by Muslims."<sup>1</sup> Zwemer evidently holds that God's witness to Himself or fragments of His earlier Revelation remain scattered among non-Christian religions, or that the marred "image" in man still can be seen. Perhaps it was the great Muslim's access to Christian Scriptures that explains this:

"It is noteworthy that when he rises to the highest ethical teaching he bases his remarks on the sayings (mostly apocryphal) of Christ, which we collate in our final chapter. Al-Ghazali tried hard but failed to find in Mohammed the ideals of his own heart. This is the tragedy of Islam."<sup>2</sup>

Zwemer is caught up emotionally in the great yearning search of his subject. He appreciates how the pious Muslim blended Sufism with Sunnism to save the former from deadly speculation ending in self-deification or pantheism and the latter from cold scholastic decrepitude. Yet Al-Ghazali fails inasmuch as his end product is a moral philosophy, an ethical mysticism, which makes the happiness of the individual its highest good and the works of man the means for achieving this righteousness and identity with God. Even the great mystic is snared by superstition.<sup>3</sup> But the real test was his understanding of Jesus Christ:

"Being a Moslem, Al-Ghazali was either too proud to search for the true historical facts of the Christian religion, or perhaps it would be more charitable to say that he had no adequate opportunity, in spite of his quotations and misquotations from the 'Gospels.' Otherwise he could have found there what would have met his heart-hunger and satisfied his soul--the manifestation of God not in some intangible principle, but in a living person, in Jesus Christ....Whenever Al-Ghazali speaks of God's nearness to us and of the soul's desire for human fellowship with the creator, he comes very close to the Christian idea of the Incarnation, and yet always stops short of it ....Yet with all his efforts to explain the nature of the soul and of God, he still finds himself before a blank wall. He covets the vision of God but cannot shake himself free from the Moslem conception that God is unknowable and that nothing in creation resembles the Creator."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. A Moslem Seeker After God, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 163-167.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 253, 286-89.



Al-Ghazali's lasting contribution was that he leavened Persian thought with quotations of the Gospel, giving Jesus a larger place, hence preparing a contact for Christian-Muslim conversation. The best of this influence is seen in his pupil-poet, Jalāl-ad-Din ar-Rūmī who acknowledged Jesus as the Life-Giver:

"Thyself reckon dead, and then thou shalt fly  
Free, free, from the prison of earth to the sky!  
Spring may come, but on granite will grow no green thing;  
It was barren in winter, 'tis barren in spring;  
And granite man's heart is, till grace intervene,  
And, crushing it, clothe the long barren with green.  
When the fresh breath of Jesus shall touch the heart's core,  
It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."<sup>1</sup>

This disciple of Al-Ghazali, a great Muslim theologian, may yet serve the coming Kingdom of God. Standing near to the Gospel, he may assist some Muslims as "a schoolmaster to lead them to Christ".<sup>2</sup>

The Law of Apostasy in Islam (1924) is Zwemer's most critical yet most compassionate work. While his affection for the Muslim has increased, his estimate of the Islamic system has not! The oppressive nature of Islamic law and society has not only limited the number of converts, but deprived them of property, family and even life (in 1924, the Law of Death for Apostates had not been abrogated!). In spite of intellectual awakening, western influence, economical development, constitutions and parliaments, the "sword of Damocles" still hangs over the head of every convert to Christ. This "Law" must be deleted or modified before there will be liberty of conscience and freedom to confess Christ. Zwemer does not rate the holding power of "Islamic Fraternity" as high as Gairdner. He contends it is a "fear psychosis"; a group mentality, aware of the price of "treason" rather than the kinship experienced by those who pray, "Our Father". It is a "group superiority" which tolerates outsiders as inferiors rather than a community of Faith called to serve and witness to the world. Real "change" on the Near East scene must be related to Faith in Christ.

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 252, 294.

A truer freedom, a deeper religious experience, a higher life than the one supplied by their own faith, must come before Moslems can enter into the larger liberty which we enjoy."<sup>1</sup>

Zwemer is convinced of the existence of many "hidden disciples" in the midst of the Muslim community. But it is the open converts who are doing the painful, necessary pioneering to usher into the Near East a new era of religious liberty.<sup>2</sup>

"The battle for religious liberty, freedom of conscience and worship has been age-long and world-wide. Christianity itself has suffered during this struggle; witness the Inquisition, the Crusades and the persecutions of the Middle Ages, as well as the conditions of those countries nominally Christian where these great blessings do not yet obtain for all sorts and conditions of men...Christianity no less than Islam has sometimes failed to solve the difficulty. Religious liberty was purchased at so great a price in the Protestant lands of Europe and America that the principle of religious tolerance is one of our most cherished ideals."<sup>3</sup>

There is a cry for "religious freedom" in the Near East and unless it comes, history's judgment upon Islam will be the more relentless. Christians must live and work for "religious liberty for All" knowing that behind history stands the Judge and Redeemer of history. In Heirs of the Prophets (1946), Zwemer hints at two areas of activity which may well prepare the way for the Kingdom. The 'Ulema, the heirs of the prophets according to Muhammad, are the authorized interpreters of the consensus. It is within their power to re-interpret Islamic law and practice which could result in greater political, social and religious liberty.<sup>4</sup> Zwemer encouraged "personal friendship with their clergy, the so-called imams, mullahs, and sheikhs" realizing what impact these men could have on the future. He was amazed at what considerable numbers of converts came from their ranks. As such they were no longer:

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Law of Apostasy (1924), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>D. B. Macdonald, S. A. Morrison and J. N. D. Anderson have prepared the finest studies of the question of Islamic jurisprudence and "religious liberty".

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>4</sup>For a recent study re: consensus, cf. Kenneth Cragg, Counsels in Contemporary Islam: Islamic Surveys III (Edinburgh, 1965).

"merely heirs of Islamic learning but 'heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ' if so be that they fill up the measure of His suffering in the fearless proclamation of the eternal Gospel."<sup>1</sup>

Zwemer's life-long study of Islam was neither detached nor impersonal. It was rooted in the hope that Abraham's prayer: "Oh that Ishmael might live before Thee!" might find fulfillment in the Messiah of God. It was scholarship with a view to evangelism.

#### Zwemer's Understanding of Evangelism

Parallel to the development seen in Zwemer's understanding of Islam (the World) is his understanding of the task of Proclamation (the Word). In the early period (1890-1915), he attempts to harness the motives, methods and attitudes of the nineteenth century, but then gradually he comprehends that all depends on the revelation, the activity of God in Jesus Christ. Thus emerges the "Christocentric-anthropological" approach stressing personal commitment to Christ as Lord and Saviour, and "Man" as a fellow-being equally needing the Love and Life Christ offers. This awareness was sharpened by the crisis in Theology and Mission (1920-1940).

Reared in the Reformed Church in America, a body encompassing the comprehensive views of Abraham Kuyper (Dutch statesman and theologian) as well as the more conservative views of Albertus Van Raalte, mid-nineteenth century founder of Holland, Michigan, Zwemer was a Calvinist committed to the "continuing Reformation" based on biblical scholarship. This breadth of mind finds him open to the whole spectrum of Protestant ideas regarding the evangelization of the Muslims. His first major work reveals his awareness of the history of mission from Raymond Lull (d. 1315) onwards, of the monolithic political-religious system of Islam, and of the traditional Protestant understanding of mission as the spreading of the

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Heirs of the Prophets (1946), pp. 127ff.



written and spoken Word of God. Zwemer's finest thought at the time is rooted in his biblical exegesis of God's promises for the Arabs ("theocratic covenants") and the N.T. assurances of the final victory of Christ and his Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> "The Cross", the Evangelical interpretation of the Atonement is pressed home, however, in that the doctrinal structure was the vessel holding the life-giving waters.<sup>2</sup> Gradually he becomes more conscious and critical of the Church's hot-cold treatment of Islam and like Schleiermacher was impressed by "moravian compassion". The Muslim was spiritually dead, blind and cold; but in Christ a potentially new man.<sup>3</sup> Zwemer's ideas of preaching and other mission-methods blend the best of evangelical, philosophical and humanitarian nineteenth century thought. In the year that the Tokyo Conference (W.S.C.F., 1907) was debating "Apologetics or Evangelism", Zwemer leaned towards the latter:

"Preaching must have for its subject the essentials of Christianity. Preach Christ crucified. Show the reasonableness of the mysteries of revelation, of the incarnation, and of the Holy Trinity; but never try to explain them by mere philosophy. The problem is to reach, not the intellect, but the heart and conscience, to arouse it from stupor, to show the grandeur of moral courage to the man who is intellectually convinced of the truth. In trying to convince the will--that citadel of man's soul--we must follow the line of least resistance. Yet compromise must not take the place of tact.

"The right angle for the presentation of truth can best be learned by studying the strength and the weakness of Islam. The history of Moslem theology, for example, shows that heterodoxy has nearly always been connected with a strong desire for a mediator. This natural longing for an intercessor and an atonement is fully supplied in Christ, our Saviour....Preach to the Moslem, not as a Moslem, but as a man--as a sinner in need of a Saviour."<sup>4</sup>

Zwemer in these years blended the language of "conflict" and "aggressive evangelism" with that of the "challenge of faith" and the "love of Jesus".<sup>5</sup> The Conferences at Cairo, Edinburgh and Lucknow must have set the mind and heart of Zwemer pulsating.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Arabia: the Cradle of Islam (1900), pp. 300ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Moslem Doctrine of God (1905), passim.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Islam, A Challenge to Faith (1907), pp. 209f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 243, 256, etc.

At this time, however, he is still influenced by the sociological, ethical and "value" arguments for mission, listing the motives in this order: (1) The human need of those destitute and neglected, (2) Christ's universal command (3) the Glory of God, and (4) the Second Coming of Christ (eschatological).<sup>1</sup> He toys with the Hegelian proposition of the Edinburgh Report that because "Islam is the antithesis of Christianity, a synthesis is possible".<sup>2</sup> But even before the shock of World War I and the cry of Barth, Zwemer focused anew on the Christ as God's Revelation in Word and Act:

"There is no stronger argument or plea for missions to Moslems than their concept of our Christ, and the fact that Mohammed has usurped the place of our Saviour in so many hearts....A passion for the glory of God, which is among the highest missionary motives, will inspire us to preach the Christ in all His fulness to those who are now following Mohammed."<sup>3</sup>

"The fact of Christ" for Zwemer is not only a contact point between Christians and Muslims but the central point about which mission must concentrate. One's relation to Christ, not simply affiliation to a community or system, is the determinative factor regarding his relation to God and eternal destiny. The Church must come to grips with Incarnation, Atonement, Trinity in an experiential theology, yet not neglect Christ's "transcendent nature" in an emphasis on the humanity of Jesus.

"A loving and yet bold presentation of the distinctive truths of our religion and of the surpassing grandeur and beauty of the character of Jesus Christ will never alienate a Moslem heart....We should ask Moslems to study the Gospel in any way they like, but with only one object in view, 'namely, that they may come face to face with Jesus Himself; that they may learn to know Him, and see how He claimed to hold a supreme position in the matter of the attitude of all men toward God, a position which none other has ever claimed. In other words, we should press home the question which Jesus Himself put to His disciples and to the world, 'What think ye of the Christ?'"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Unoccupied Fields (1911), pp. 153ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. The Moslem Christ (1912), p. 177.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 181-185.

By 1915, Zwemer's outlook is keenly Christocentric. Western civilization, idealistic and religious philosophies, and diluted philanthropic programs of education are inadequate to meet the needs of the Near East. Zwemer considers himself the friend and "mid-wife" aiding "educated Muslims" who are willing, even eager to investigate the claims of Jesus Christ and His place in history:

"We assert as strongly as do all Moslems that there is only one God, but because there is only one God there can be only one Gospel and one Christ.... In no part of the world's battlefield for righteousness and truth does belief in the deity of Jesus Christ so naturally and almost spontaneously turn this mere theological dogma into a spiritual experience, a logical necessity, and a great passion, as when face to face with Mohammedan denials of the claims of our Saviour and their practical deification of Mohammed.

"The utter helplessness and hopelessness of missionary work among Moslems on the part of anyone who wavers or is uncertain regarding this belief in the deity of Christ is self-evident....It is this anti-Christian character of the greatest of all the non-Christian religions which compels every worker among Moslems to look upon the doctrine of the Trinity<sup>or</sup> of the deity of Jesus Christ not as mere orthodox belief, but as the very life and heart of Christianity, without which we have no message, no motive power, and no hope of success."<sup>1</sup>

Several factors stimulated the development of this maturing sympathetic "Christo-centric-anthropological" approach to the Muslim: first hand studies and experiences on the field, contact with leading European and American mission-minded orientalists, and the changing theological situation in the West.

Zwemer's affection for the Arabs was heightened by his personal contact with the citizens of Egypt. Delving into popular Islam and discussion with educated Muslims, he sensed their aspiration for forgiveness, reconciliation and new life in God. He became aware that the Gospel addresses itself primarily to "man in his need" and is not addressed to other religions nor about them. The Christian Message to man regards God's love and action, past and present, in behalf of the world. While the "herald" must study the "religions" to better understand the capacities and needs of man, he does so to better "communicate" the Gospel and not to filter out

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Disintegration...(1915), pp. 184-186.



"truths".<sup>1</sup> Zwemer's concern for "communication" was so intense that he frequently worked and reworked his materials until the expression forcefully captured the listener's interest.<sup>2</sup> There were few who rivaled his persuasiveness on the street or platform as a practitioner of speech. Convinced that the coming of the Kingdom was mysteriously related to "Proclamation", he never allowed this to become simply an "art". Nor did he allow his study of man to enslave him to any romantic or idealistic view of human nature. His desire was to treat the disease not symptoms behind man's illness ("sickness unto death") and thus he gave biblical proclamation priority over philanthropic effort.

Exchange with mission-orientated scholars such as D. B. Macdonald undoubtedly helped Zwemer clarify his own position. One is amazed at the mutual influence and agreement between these two men, as they focused on the question: "How can Christ be best preached to Moslems?"<sup>3</sup> Zwemer stood by Macdonald's contention that any Christianity which neglected the Incarnation would fail. Islam and history have taught the Church that:

"...to the seeker in the great space that lies between Materialism and Pantheism, the presentation that still expressed most adequately the mystery behind our lives, is that in the Christian Trinity and the words that come nearest are those of the Nicene Creed."<sup>4</sup>

While Zwemer admits, "There is some truth in all the non-Christian religions, and much good in many of them",<sup>5</sup> he is no longer satisfied with the "comparison" approach. He is moving to a stronger emphasis on "Revelation" and the Christ-centered

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<sup>1</sup>These ideas about communicating the Gospel to religious man find fuller treatment in Johannes Blauw, "The Biblical View of Man in His Religion," The Theology of Christian Mission (ed. G. H. Anderson), pp. 31-41 and D. T. Niles, Upon the Earth, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Calverly, M.W., 42 (1952), 158.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Zwemer and Macdonald in The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam (reprinted from I.R.M., London, 1915).

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in Zwemer, Mohammed or Christ?, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

Message. A missionary is not simply sent, but sent "with a message";

"Christianity is the final religion, and its message--Christ incarnate, Crucified, Risen and Glorified--is the one thing needed to evangelize the world."<sup>1</sup>

Unless there is a calling of men to repentance and new life in Christ, it is not "mission". Unless the messenger has experienced Christ, he will simply be absorbed into his environment. Opinions are no substitute for "Message", nor philanthropy for dynamic Proclamation:

"The real missionary spirit is the Holy Spirit. He Himself gave us the message in the Scriptures, and in the Christ enables us to interpret it to others."<sup>2</sup>

"Reconciliation" is at the heart of the Christian experience and herein lies the only real hope of men and nations:

"The yawning chasm between the devout Moslem and the devout Christian...is real and deep. The chasm cannot be bridged by rickety planks of compromise. Syncretism would be equivalent to surrender;...we must plan and sacrifice not to bombard the enemies position but to bridge the chasm...the missionary problem is how to bridge the chasm with courage and tact, by the manifestation of the truth in love....Islam is a spiritual problem and can only be solved in spiritual terms. To the Moslem mind the unknown quantity is the exceeding greatness of the love of God in Jesus Christ, His Son, our Saviour. This is the heart of the problem. Prayer and pains will accomplish wonders in solving it...."<sup>3</sup>

There is no by-passing the Cross of Christ for Zwemer, for it not only represents the mystery of God's love, but what the Church must experience in reaching Muslims with the News of "Reconciliation".<sup>4</sup> Oft reflecting upon Louis Massignon's words,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 273f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 282. Zwemer's own Message to the world is represented by his trilogy on the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection: The Glory of the Cross (1928), The Glory of the Manger (1940), and The Glory of the Empty Tomb (1947).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. M.W., 9 (1919), 111ff.

<sup>4</sup>At this point Zwemer foreshadowed the warnings of Willigen (1952) that the Church in its obligation in mission must never take the center which only Christ and his Cross can occupy. Cf. Wilhelm Andersen, "Further Toward a Theology of Mission," in The Theology of the Christian Mission, pp. 300-313.

"The Cross cannot be defeated, because it itself was defeat", Zwemer calls for a sacrificial but clear witness in behalf of Muslims. Many of his editorials speak of this reconciling love of God in Christ—"Behold the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world".<sup>1</sup> Zwemer's labors never go limp in disappointment, for there is an eschatological note of triumph and victory pervading his writings. While the "social gospel" and "ethical Christianity" have their appeal, it is the Risen Christ who brings "realization" to the human hunger for completeness, the O.T. vision of eternity, and the creation's groanings (Rom. 8).<sup>2</sup> These were a few of the factors which made Zwemer's efforts in evangelism so winsome.

#### Zwemer's Role in the Crisis of Theology and Mission (1920-1938)

Even as the development of Zwemer's thought concerning the Church, other religions, and evangelism foreshadows and parallels that of the continental "theologians of the Word" in many ways, so Zwemer's criticism of the left wing of Protestant "Liberalism" (esp. American) and restatement of Evangelical tenets provide a preview of the ideas expressed by Hendrik Kraemer and others at Tambaram. This debate sharpened Zwemer's statements regarding Christianity's relation to other religions and evangelism.

#### The Growing Tension of the 1920s

Protestants in the twentieth century were heirs of the past: of the Reformers and scholastic orthodoxy, of the Evangelical Awakenings and the growing humanitarian concern, of the new emphases on religious experience and ethical-social needs, of the new sciences of literary and historical criticism, and of a world responding to the imposition of global exploration, political and industrial revolution.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. e.g. M.W., 11 (1921), 114.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. M.W., 18 (1928), 221ff.



These forces and theologies influenced the missionary movement and in turn were influenced by it. Even within that movement, various competing views of "mission" were coming forth by the twentieth century:

"(1). It has been held that the attitude of Christian mission should be that Christianity must supplant the other religions because they are of purely human origin (Jn. 14:6). (2)--Christianity is the fulfillment of other religions (Acts 17:23). (3)--that there is in all religions the possibility of 'faith' between God and man (Luke 7:9). (4)--that in Jesus all religions are brought to judgment, and that he remains the judge of all religions including Christianity. (5)...that the motive of Christian witness should be not one of seeking to make Christians of adherents of other religions, but of so presenting Jesus Christ to them that He Himself will become for them the point of reconception with respect to their own religion (Jn. 1:9). Thus it is held, in course of time there will emerge a new religion in which all religions, including Christianity, will be comprehended."<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Zwemer's role in this period can be understood only against the background of this upheaval (1910-1928). The forces already noted at the beginning of this chapter plus the brutal shock of World War I and ensuing depressions convinced a number of missionaries that traditional nineteenth century methods were inadequate. Roland Allen cried out for a return to the "missionary strategy" of the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> J. N. Farquhar had extended the application of Jesus' words "not to destroy but to fulfill" (explanation of His relationship to O.T. Law) to explain Christianity's relation to other religions.<sup>3</sup> Others moved even further afield. Albert Schweitzer left a brilliant career in music and theology to engage in humanitarian work in Africa on the motive of a "reverence for life".<sup>4</sup> Historian Arnold J. Toynbee, called for "co-existence" between various cultures and world

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. D. T. Niles, Upon the Earth, pp. 227ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. R. Allen, Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours (London, 1912), The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes that Hinder it (London, 1922), and with T. Cochrane, Missionary Survey (London, 1920).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. J. N. Farquhar, The Crown of Hinduism.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. esp. A. Schweitzer, Christianity and the Religions of the World (Lectures at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, 1922, trans. by J. Powers, London, 1923).

religions.<sup>1</sup> Bernard Lucas advocated discontinuing the effort to win converts and to simply permeate other cultures with Christian ideas.<sup>2</sup> Others criticized the "disruptive" nature of Protestant missions and urged the less disturbing "philanthropy" as an ideal.<sup>3</sup> These ideas came under the fire by those who were equally desirous of a sympathetic approach, but conscious of the distinctiveness of each particular religion. Continental voices and others like A. G. Hogg and D. S. Cairns held to the unique claims of the Christian Message and its enduring contrast to other religions. John R. Mott and Robert Speer attempted to steer a mediating position between those who generously praised non-Christian religions at their highest and those who stressed their evils in contrast to the divine uniqueness of the Christian Revelation and Faith (i.e. the issue of natural theology: Justin Martyr v.s. Tertullian, Brunner-Barth debate).<sup>4</sup>

These new ideas were soon appearing in Near Eastern educational institutions with Christian origins. President John E. Merrill of Central Turkey College (Aintab, North Syria) spoke of understanding "Islam and not Islam alone but Christianity itself and the inner life of the human spirit of which both are expressions." What he found in the Saviour differed more in degree than in kind to that found in Islam. His message was "a testimony to spiritual experience, not a teaching regarding religious doctrine and practice".<sup>5</sup> A more striking outlook was found in the person of Howard S. Bliss, President of A.U.B. (Beirut), His article on "The Modern

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. A. J. Toynbee, "Islam and Ourselves," Atlantic Monthly, 1930, pp. 114-121, and An Historian's Approach to Religion (Based on Gifford Lectures, 1952-53, London, 1956).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. B. Lucas, The Empire of Christ (London, 1908) and Our Task in India (London, 1914).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. F. A. Ross, et. al., The Near East and American Philanthropy (New York, 1929).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. J. R. Mott, "The Outlook in the Moslem World," I.R.M., 13 (1924), 321-339 and D. S. Cairns, "The Christian Message. A Comparison of Thought in 1910 and 1928," I.R.M., 18 (1929), 321-331.

<sup>5</sup>John E. Merrill, "The Christian Approach to Moslems," I.R.M., 11 (1922), 551-60.

Missionary" (1920) includes the "Liberal" catchwords of the day in sharp contrast to the "Evangelical" convictions of his father, Daniel Bliss. Radically departing from the traditional concept of mission he depicts the "modern missionary" as

"trained in the scientific method...the broad aspects of Evolution, in Comparative Religion, in the history and philosophy of religion, in the history of civilization, in the Lower and Higher Criticisms, convinced as never before that man's religious belief powerfully affects...man's happiness, usefulness, progress and salvation."<sup>1</sup>

He finds truth re-echoed in his own heart, reason, and other religions.

"He does not believe that Christianity is the sole channel through which divine and saving truth has been conveyed....For it at once enlarges his spiritual fellowship. All men who are themselves seeking God and who are striving to lead others to God become his companions and his fellow workers ....This widened conception of the work of God in the world has a profound effect upon the missionary method of presenting his own Christian message.. ..He comes to supplement not solely to create....Coming into contact with men who are as convinced of the truth of their own faiths as the missionary is of his, his appeal to them must be upon the common basis of absolute fidelity to truth...."<sup>2</sup>

"The Religion" and the "Ideal" are tied to an optimistic view of man's progress.

"Perfection, moreover, upon which Jesus insists as the goal of man's striving, will bring with it a due development of his intellectual and aesthetic nature....Faith in a loving, wise, righteous, and holy God; faith in self; faith in mankind; faith in truth, in love, in righteousness--this fulfills the conditions of the Catholic faith...."<sup>3</sup>

The widespread approval of this type of thinking is seen in that this article was reprinted by the American Board with the commendation of James L. Barton, a Senior Officer. It was soon apparent that there was both confusion and conflicting opinions as to the "essence of Christianity". Arthur Jeffery, himself reaffirming that the solution to the Muslim's needs are found only in the Person and Message of the Living Christ, speaks of the "clash";

"The problem of all problems to every Christian missionary is the problem of presentation--the problem, that is, of putting the Christian message in

<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. S. Bliss, "The Modern Missionary," The Atlantic Monthly, May, 1920 reprinted in Penrose, That They May Have Light, pp. 178-196.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 185.



such a way as will appeal to and convince those to whom it is addressed. Obviously there are two sides to this problem, first, that of understanding the vital message of Christianity and being able to effectively set it forth; and second, that of understanding the mind of the one to whom the message is addressed so as to present it in a way that will most surely have the desired effect. Curiously enough it is on the first of these, that there is the greatest difference of opinion. Some have insisted that the vital message of Christianity is one thing and some another; some have emphasized one method of setting it forth and some another."<sup>1</sup>

It was apparent that it would take a crisis to clarify, What is Christianity?

What is the Christian Message? Meanwhile the "understanding of Islam" would have to wait (until revived by Levonian, Cragg, et al.).

In this situation of tension, Zwemer's voice is first heard in Christianity, the Final Religion (1920).<sup>2</sup> He clearly criticizes the neutralistic attitude of Howard Bliss and others who negate the core of the Christian faith ("thinking in gray"):

"On the contrary, we believe that the very nature of Christianity, its dynamic, its passion, its power of missionary appeal, its esse as well as its bene esse consists in its credo--its belief in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, who died on the Cross for our sins and arose again, who gave us this message as our only commission and sealed it with the promise of his presence."<sup>3</sup>

While aware of "the solidarity of race", Zwemer is convinced that the only hope for a new reconciled humanity is found in Jesus Christ. Long before Tambaram, he set forth ideas that would triumph there:

"Christianity and the non-Christian religions are two distinct conceptions. Their real relation, therefore, when they come into contact is that of impact, and not of compromise. Christianity is distinct in its origin. Its revelation is supernatural, and its Founder was the Lord from heaven....The missionary character of Christianity, therefore, demands impact with every non-Christian system."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. A. Jeffery, "The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems," I.R.M., 13 (1924), 174ff.

<sup>2</sup>Compare with W. A. Visser't Hooft, No Other Name (Philadelphia, 1963) and H. Kraemer, Why Christianity of all Religions (Philadelphia, 1962).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Zwemer, Christianity, the Final Religion (Grand Rapids, 1920), a series of addresses made to Christian and Muslim audiences before 1920, pp. 3f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

Criticizing the shift from deep theological doctrines to ethical ideas, he called for a return to the "Apostolic Gospel"—Christ's activity, death on the Cross and Resurrection for the redemption of men. He was careful not to make Christianity (as system or institution) itself "final", but to subject all to Christ, "the Truth". In this sense, Zwemer was a forerunner of the theologians of Crisis, Judgment and the Word.<sup>1</sup> Following World War I, a deep pessimism and despair gripped many intellectuals as well as the masses (much in the spirit of Kierkegaard). Optimism in man's progress and the illusive quest for a "historical Jesus" were inadequate for describing man's dilemma or God's action in Christ. Karl Barth's Commentary on Romans (1919) fell like a bombshell, ushering in a whole barrage of shots from theologians of crisis, judgment and "the Word of God".<sup>2</sup> This stress upon the centrality of the Incarnation, the uniqueness of the Revelation of the Transcendental God in Christ, and the crisis-judgment, as well as redemption, which accompanies Jesus Christ in his confrontation with men, cultures and religion gave Protestant Theology a new sense of direction (sometimes called neo-orthodox or neo-evangelical). Latourette later described it thus:

"In Protestantism, the optimistic liberalism of the nineteenth century has been partly replaced by crisis theology, and the confidence in reason and the intellect as competent in matters of religion had tended to be ushered out by a belief that God is utterly different from man and man is so corrupted by sin that knowledge of God can come only by God's revelation of himself."<sup>3</sup>

Zwemer and others realized the serious implications this new understanding of the "Word of God" had for Christian missions, implications which would come to light

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. the writings of Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, E. Gogarten, E. Thurneysen, Karl Heim, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, noting that these begin about 1924 with the exception of Barth's Der Romerbrief (Bern, 1919).

<sup>2</sup>K. Barth's own pilgrimage from dialectical philosophy, to a theology of the Word to Christian dogmatics, to "Church Dogmatics" has been capably documented by T. F. Torrance, Karl Barth: An Introduction to His Early Theology, 1910-1931 (London, 1962).

<sup>3</sup>K. S. Latourette, The Unquenchable Light (London, 1945), pp. 108f.

from 1930 onwards.<sup>1</sup>

The Crisis in Mission, 1930s.

The conflict of opinions was raging so fiercely in the United States by the 1930s that a popular writer, Pearl Buck, could ask, "Is there a Case for Foreign Missions?"<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately voices tended to polarize into two opposing camps labelled as "liberal" and "conservative-evangelical". Others tried with little success to take a mediating position. This was unfortunate inasmuch as the Church was reacting to a world undergoing rapid transition and needed to pool not divide her energies for the reorientation of mission. The glow of "Edinburgh, 1910" (when the churches had been drawn together for a united strategy for reconnoitering and occupying the non-Christian world) had given way to the cautious, critical atmosphere of "Jerusalem, 1928". War and depressions had purified the Church of some of the dross and made her aware of her weaknesses. In this depressed setting, the questions of "What is Christianity?" and "What is Mission?" were most relevant. What really ignited this tinder into a blazing conflict was the report of an independent Laymen's Inquiry entitled, Re-thinking Missions (1932). The first part of this report became an exposition of the views of William E. Hocking, professor of Philosophy at Harvard and chairman of the Inquiry. As a spokesman of the left wing of American Liberalism, Hocking advised that a form of Western Christian service to the new emerging Eastern world should replace the traditional program of missions. Since his statements triggered the heated debate leading to and beyond Tambaram and stand

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<sup>1</sup>For one of the finest statements of these implications, cf. Karl Hartenstein, "The Theology of the Word and Missions," I.R.M., 20 (1931), 210-227. Cf. Appendix H.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Harper's Magazine, January, 1933.



as a foil, an alternative to Zwemer and Kraemer, they deserve special attention.<sup>1</sup>

Re-thinking Missions brought forth a storm of protests and some very constructive restating of the evangelical basis for Christian mission. While appreciating the stimulus to "think", the responses of K. S. Latourette (Professor at Yale), John A. Mackay (President of Princeton Seminary), and Julius Richter of Berlin concentrate on Hocking's presuppositions which they claim lack both biblical and historical basis.<sup>2</sup> Latourette is representative:

"The report calls for 'first of all a new kind of person as the unit of society if there is to be a new social order' (p. 63) but fails to adequately discuss how such a new kind of person comes into being or how a new kind of society formed.... It neglects the cardinal points of Christian message in the Cross, the Atonement, the Resurrection and the Holy Spirit. The first four chapters speak of religion as though it were man's search for God, whereas multitudes of Christians have declared the Gospel to be the expression of God's search for man."<sup>3</sup>

After a very careful treatment of the report's recommendations, Latourette counsels:

"What is most wanting in the missionary enterprise is not new machinery or new methods: first and foremost it is the necessity for what has always been most essential--a fresh outburst of life in the Church. Without it the Church must go haltingly and half-heartedly about its great task. When it comes many of our problems will be solved or submerged by the fresh tide of the Spirit. That new life is to be found in no new or novel way. In the last analysis our dependence is upon the Living God. Our primary contribution must be to help prepare the way for Him by repentance, consecration, faith, prayer and love."<sup>4</sup>

Mackay felt that what was at stake was not mission methods but theology. He accuses Hocking of failing to take stock of the contemporary world, the new awareness of man's tragic state and the issues raised by the "theologians of the Word". Hocking

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix I. This was neither the first nor last of Hocking's comments on missions: Cf. "Palestine--An Impasse?" Atlantic Monthly, July, 1930, 121-132; "The Ethical Basis Underlying the Legal Right of Religious Liberty as Applied to Foreign Missions," I.R.M., 20 (1931), 493-511; and Living Religions and A World Faith (London, 1940).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. their articles, I.R.M., 22 (1933), 153-173, 174-188, 313-324 respectively.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Latourette, I.R.M., 22 (1933), 158ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

has not advanced beyond Harnack's "essence of Christianity" which results in a "religion of Jesus" but not faith in Christ as Resurrected Lord. For Mackay, a former missionary in South America, the objective is:

"To make Jesus Christ inescapable for men everywhere. Not acceptable but inescapable, the only possible solution, the only saviour of men who have become deadly in earnest about the problem of living. This will involve the closest and most sympathetic identification of missionaries with the people among whom they work....The missionary will devote himself to unfolding by word and deed the content of his message--'Jesus Christ'....The trouble is that we have so largely forgotten what Christianity means."<sup>1</sup>

Other very thorough replies to the report were given by Robert Speer<sup>2</sup> and by the Principal of the United Theological College of Poona, J. F. Edwards.<sup>3</sup>

Although in his sixties, Zwemer could not refrain from entering this crucial debate. In fact until the appearance of H. Kraemer, he was the foremost Christian authority on Missions to Muslims in the exchange. For him, "the Finality of Jesus Christ" was indeed the issue:

"Any faith which challenges the finality of Christianity and professes to give a supplementary message, another gospel, higher ethics, a more adequate social program, must produce the equivalent of Jesus Christ. To call Christianity the absolute or final religion is, as Dr. Mackintosh asserts, 'to contend not merely that in Jesus Christ God is presented in a form higher and more spiritually satisfying than elsewhere, but that the relationship to the Father on which believers thus enter, is such that it cannot be transcended.' (Cf. The Originality of the Christian Message, p. 175)."<sup>4</sup>

Zwemer felt that Re-thinking Missions was undermining the biblical-historical conviction that the Living Christ is the sole mediator between God and all men and offers his rejoinder in Thinking Missions with Christ (1934). He urges his readers to get away from the "modernist-fundamentalist controversy" and focus on the basic

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<sup>1</sup>Mackay, I.R.M., 22 (1933), 187f.

<sup>2</sup>R. E. Speer, The Finality of Jesus Christ (Stone Lectures, Princeton, 1933) and Re-Thinking Missions Examined (New York, 1933).

<sup>3</sup>J. F. Edwards, "Re-Thinking Missions" An Answer from India (London, 1933).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. M.W., 24 (1934), 109.

issues of the universe and man. The apostles dealt with the details of man's dilemma and God's answer in Christ:

"God has divided the light from darkness, not only in the world of nature, but in the world of grace....The attitude of the apostles toward the non-Christian religions is not expressed in gray or twilight shades."<sup>1</sup>

In contrast the theoretical, humanistic idealism of Hocking's report is filled with irresponsible statements which only stagnate not stimulate mission work. For example when confronted by Islam, one must think concisely about the Incarnation and Atonement as "realities". Zwemer rejects Hocking's basic idea that God-truth is discovered by "subjective-experience", holding instead that God is known only as He reveals himself. Christians are not simply "stockholders sharing human thought and experience" but "ambassadors" announcing a historical-eternal fact, Jesus Christ.

Zwemer appreciated Hartenstein's work on this subject:

"Over against the eclipse of this message of faith by American activism, and against the minimizing of the truth of revelation by syncretism, and over against the worldly atmosphere which threatens missionary service through secularism, we must hold fast the heritage of the Reformation and of Pietism by a new emphasis on the Scriptures and the Scriptural basis of the enterprise. Missions are nothing else than an ambassadorship in Christ's stead to a lost world, and the only power of missions, as well as the only source of authority, is the Holy Spirit."<sup>2</sup>

Zwemer's own revised list of motives takes this order: first, obedience to Christ's great commission; second, the Love of Christ which constrains and sends forth Christians to meet the world's need in His name; and third, the glory of God and His coming Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Of the latter he writes:

"Some motives are ego-centric or cosmocentric. This is all theocentric and finds its source and goal beyond time and space in eternity. The chief end of missions is not the salvation of men but the glory of God. 'For of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things'--also missions--"to Him be the glory for ever.' Not only in Luther and Calvin but in our own day, Otto in 'Das Heilige' and Karl Barth in his Commentary on Romans have shown that

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Zwemer, Thinking Missions with Christ (London, 1934), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>From Botschafter an Christi Statt as quoted in Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Compare with above, p. 392 .



the sovereignty and holiness of God are the basis of all theistic thought and that a Christian world-view is impossible without these numinous elements. ...The missionary motive and idea is proclaimed at the Incarnation....With it the Incarnate Word communicates His message and power, His mission and authority to His Church for all the ages."<sup>1</sup>

In his emphasis upon the transcendental, the historical, the eschatological nature of the Christian Message over against the "religions of the world", Zwemer was certainly in agreement with many theologians in Europe. As a veteran missionary he likewise found little value in the practical proposals of the report; for what is needed is not simply "new methods" but "new men" and this happens only as men encounter Jesus Christ. Zwemer held in highest regard the "statement" of the Scandinavian delegates to the I.M.C. meeting at Herrnhut (1932) and quotes it at length as a corrective to the Laymen's Appraisal:

"If we have anything to bring in the name of God to a world in need, it is certainly not our own piety, our own way of life, our own modes of thought or our own human help. What the Church has to give in its world mission is the good news of a divine act in history, of the Word made flesh. Apart from a Word which is from God, and not from man, there is no Christian mission.

"We have considered afresh what is central in our missionary work and where the chief emphasis should be laid. We are convinced that our missionary task is to proclaim in word and life God's revelation and redemption in Jesus Christ. We have no other task; for while there is much that is useful and good, 'one thing is needful.' We need to ask ourselves whether everything that forms part of present missionary activity serves the one dominant purpose of making clear the message of Jesus Christ in all its fulness."<sup>2</sup>

The mature reflection of Zwemer is also set forth in The Origin of Religion (1935).<sup>3</sup> He holds the "degeneration-devolution" theory rather than the "evolutionary hypothesis" regarding the origin of the world's religions, i.e. the earliest monotheism degenerated after the fall of man into the plurality of religions, yet God has continued to renew His covenant with man through the Judeo-Christian stream

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 65ff.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Ibid., pp. 133-135. The writings and work of Jans Christensen among the Muslims of North India, Alfred Nielsen of Damascus-Jerusalem, and Bengt Sundkler, Bishop of Tanzania show how these ideas were applied.

<sup>3</sup>S. Zwemer, The Origin of Religion, based on the Smyth Lectures delivered at Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia, 1935 (London, 1935).

of history.<sup>1</sup> Hence the fragments of "truth" found in other religions are but fragments of "revelation". Zwemer's own "historical method in anthropology" had convinced him that this applied equally to popular Islam. As an anthropologist, Zwemer held to the "essential unity and solidarity of the human family", i.e. man's physical, sociological, psychological, religious needs are basically one the world around. But he rejected an overemphasis on natural theology for one cannot understand the Christian faith by observing the phenomena of creation. At this point, Zwemer is much closer to Brunner than Barth. He asserts the unique and final Revelation of God in Christ without excluding the possibility of general revelation. For Zwemer, Jerusalem (1928) was not a "sell-out" but a blend of "proclamation" and "sympathetic study of other religions". While the study of other religions will not provide a solution, it will present "points of contact."<sup>2</sup> For Zwemer the only links between Christianity and Islam are the latter's borrowings from the former:

"The history of Islam, for example, is not the evolution of a people from animism to monotheism, but of a people, once monotheistic, under the influence of a new religion (which was nevertheless in part old), and which was borrowed from Christianity and Judaism as well as from Arabian paganism."<sup>3</sup>

If one takes seriously the study of other religions as contrasted to the Message of Christ, he will be rewarded by a deeper understanding of the great concepts of Revelation, Incarnation, Atonement, Mediation, etc.; an appreciation of the need to communicate the Gospel in clear simple terminology; and a renewed conviction of the finality and sufficiency of Christ. For example:

"The central affirmation of Mohammedanism is the absolute unity of God and his sovereignty, the Pantheism of Force, an overemphasis on God's transcendence and a denial of his Incarnation....The central affirmation of the Christian religion is that God, who is eternally both transcendent and immanent, became incarnate in Christ, taking sinful man back into his favor and that by

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<sup>1</sup>These ideas were developed by Wilhelm Schmidt, Professor at the University of Vienna in Origin of the Idea of God and by Langdom of Oxford in Semitic Mythology. Andrew Lang's discovery of "high-gods" among primitives also helped shatter the evolutionary theory that the simpler must precede the complex. Cf. Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 29, 40f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 44f.

his death and resurrection we have redemption through his blood and receive, by grace alone, forgiveness of sin and eternal life and joy,--and are translated from bondage into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, to share with him the unspeakable privilege of extending his Kingdom among men."<sup>1</sup>

At this point, Zwemer foreshadows Kraemer's volume for Madras. The greatest need of the hour is to see how the Gospel is indeed the final and absolute Message of God over all the other religious messages of the world.<sup>2</sup>

Zwemer's addresses on the "Glory and Uniqueness of the Christian Message" at the Keswick Convention (1937) would have provided encouragement to Hendrik Kraemer preparing for Madras.<sup>3</sup> Zwemer states his convictions as the opposite of Mahatma Gandhi who reportedly said, "I am unable to place Jesus Christ on a solitary throne".<sup>4</sup> Christ for Zwemer is at the heart of the Church's message because He is King over all, the reconciler and ruler of all. Zwemer rejoices in the comprehensiveness of Pascal's Thoughts on Religion:

"Jesus Christ is the centre of everything and the object of everything; and he who does not know Him knows nothing of the order of the world and nothing of himself. In Him is all our felicity and virtue, our life, our hope; apart from Him there is nothing but vice, misery, darkness, despair, and we see only obscurity, and confusion in the nature of God and in our own."<sup>5</sup>

Zwemer indeed stands as a signpost on the way to Tambaram (1938).

Tambaram, 1938, A Climax in the Crisis in Mission

The Missionary Conference at Tambaram (Madras, 1938) was a climactic point in the history of Church and Mission. Some have called the quarter of a century preceding Tambaram the Second Protestant Reformation. Once again the "theology

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp. 46ff.

<sup>3</sup>Published as The Solitary Throne (London, 1937).

<sup>4</sup>Foreshadowing in a way Kraemer's running debate with President Radhakrishnan.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted in Ibid., p. 28.



of the Word" triumphed in the form of The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World. After enduring a tortuous struggle through scholasticism and revivalism, through a subjective emphasis on experience and ethics, Protestantism found in its shattered world and God's Word a new awareness of man's utter dependence upon the Grace of the Transcendent God as given in Jesus Christ. Equally important for this study is that the spotlight at Tambaram shifts from such veterans as Speer, Mott and Zwemer to Hendrik Kraemer (1888-1965). One could rightly claim that Kraemer and his book, the Christian Message, stand in the lineage of the Dutch-American, the Evangelical Missionary to Muslims, Samuel Zwemer.<sup>1</sup>

The contest between competing "approaches" surrounding Tambaram was in dead earnest. Henry H. Riggs and several workers in the Near East were pressing for the acceptance of the views advocated by Hocking. As chairman of the Report of the Near East Christian Council Inquiry on the Evangelization of Moslems (Beirut, 1938), Riggs was able to set these views into print. All agreed that the two major obstacles were: the Muslim distortion of biblical ideas (barrier to communication) and the Muslim communal solidarity-loyalty (barrier to conversion). Riggs' answer was that Muslims should be permitted to "reconstruct" a "gospel" about Jesus acceptable to them "remembering that Christ's method left his own disciples to formulate the deepest truths for themselves under God's guidance" and that "followers of Jesus" should be permitted to remain "hidden disciples" (rather than baptized converts) within the Muslim community. He advised against anything that "the inquirer or his neighbor may interpret as clandestine efforts to alienate him from his own people." One must strive to develop "groups of followers of Jesus who are active in making Him known to others while remaining loyally a part of the social and political groups to which they belong in Islam" in hope that ultimately these "secret believers" may

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix J.

become an indigenous church group.<sup>1</sup>

In a Conference on Muslim Workers held at Delhi (December 6-7, 1938) and at a pre-Conference gathering of missionaries for Muslim Lands at Tambaram, the ideas held by Riggs and expressed in the N.E.C.C. Report were openly rejected. The rising chorus of Evangelical voices realized the dangers of confining mission to the permeation of Muslim society with Christian teachings and ideals; the postponement of "decision" and the formation of the Church as a visible witnessing community; and the "accomodation" of the Gospel to the neglect of the call to repentance and discipleship. But it was at Tambaram (1938), that all this came to a "head". There it was that Riggs spoke for the N.E.C.C. Inquiry.<sup>2</sup> There it was that the response from Delhi and the pre-conference "Special Group 6" replied and restated the evangelical basis and pattern for mission to Muslims.<sup>3</sup> The majority at Tambaram rejected the ideas set forth by Hocking, Riggs, and others because the basic presupposition that "theological tenets are discovered by human experience" was no longer acceptable! The disillusionment following World War I, the renewed emphasis upon the "theology of the Word", and conviction that the Church's mission involved "proclamation" had had far-reaching consequences. Indeed The Christian Message gained the prominent position in the missionary movement even though the debate might continue.

1938 The influences acting upon Kraemer are both visible and hidden. It is obvious that he is strongly influenced by the neo-evangelical development in theology (Barth,

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<sup>1</sup>These ideas are found in the Report of the Near East Christian Council Inquiry on the Evangelization of Moslems (Beirut, 1938); R. H. Riggs, "Shall We Try Unbeaten Paths in Working for Moslems?" M.W., 31 (1941), 116-26; and reappears in A. Carleton, "A Bold Experiment in Muslim Christian Relationships" (a paper privately circulated, December 1965).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. H. H. Riggs (chairman), "The Near East: Christian Council Enquiry," in The Madras Series (London, 1939), vol. III, ch. 10, pp. 226-265.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. the acceptance of the Delhi recommendations in "Findings of Tambaram," The Madras Series (London, 1939), vol. III, ch. 17, pp. 407-444, esp. pp. 442f.

Brunner, Hartenstein, Heim, etc.).<sup>1</sup> However there can be little doubt that he was also influenced by his contacts with Zwemer, Speer and Mott. One must remember that Zwemer helped awaken the missions in Indonesia to their task regarding Islam. His visit in July-August, 1922 resulted in the conference with the Netherlands Indies Missionary Union in Djokjakarta. The veteran Zwemer was highly respected by the Dutch missionaries. Kraemer himself testifies that Zwemer stimulated the Dutch workers to increased Islamic studies, to create a Christian literature for Muslims, to reorientate missionary effort in light of the Islamic renaissance, and to attend to Muslim concentrations in urban areas and the youth of Java. It is interesting to note that Kraemer became the accomplished specialist exactly in these areas.<sup>2</sup> Kraemer, as Chairman of the East Indies Literature Committee and authority on the indigenous Church's work for Muslims, soon appeared as an ecumenical leader at Jerusalem (1928). At this time, Zwemer's "Christocentric-anthropological" approach to Muslims was closely akin to that of Kraemer's, a remarkable point considering the well-known Continental and Anglo-American tensions. Zwemer and Kraemer however stood in the mainstream of Reformed theology with a binding respect for the authority of the Word. Hence they were to find themselves as mediators between the sharp German critics and the "liberal" sector of American Protestantism. "Jerusalem, 1928" appears to have stimulated both Zwemer and Kraemer to cast off earlier references to the "ethical" and to concentrate on the Message in Christ. The refining fires of the 1930s would help crystalize this process. As already seen the writings of Zwemer in many ways foreshadow Kraemer's contribution at Tambaram. By 1938, the matured views of Zwemer and of Kraemer are in close agreement at many points.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hallencreutz also finds Kraemer's roots in Brede Kristensen, Chantepie de la Saussaye and J. W. Gunning. Cf. Kraemer Towards Tambaram, pp . 290f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 141ff.

<sup>3</sup>Zwemer's life-long friend and biographer, Dr. J. Christy Wilson writes: "I am certain that Hendrik Kraemer in his discussion of Islam in his Christian Message reflected the thinking of Samuel Zwemer on Islam. He wrote to many of us in different parts of the world and gathered the material for the volume....



Both are thoroughly theocentric-Christocentric stressing that the Christian Message, Life and Mission is rooted solely in the Revelation in Jesus Christ. Zwemer may at times put more stress on Act (the Cross) and Kraemer upon Word, but both would agree that Word and Act, Person and Work of Christ are inseparable. Both saw Islam as a "totalitarian entity" and in light of the resurging Islamic modernism agreed there would be no early disappearance of Islam. Both called for intensified study of Islam in its contemporary forms. Both agreed that the Muslim must be approached not as a non-Christian ("religious man") but as a fellow human being with like needs, problems and aspirations (what has been called an anthropological approach).<sup>1</sup> Both agreed that "evangelism", the proclamation of the Christian Message, was of the essence of mission. They were wary of "schemes", "systems" and "methods" and felt that the most effective means or agency was personal contact by the evangelist (all members of the "missionary church"). Kraemer would go beyond Zwemer in terms of the "younger churches" and "indigenization" but this was largely due to their different locations and dates. Thus, between 1928 and 1938, the torch (leadership in Mission to Muslims) was passed from veteran to younger hands.

Zwemer's contributions to the post-Tambaram scene confirm and restate his convictions as to the centrality of Christ and the proclamation of the Word. He undoubtedly found new strength in what had transpired at Madras. It was now time to get back to the primary work of evangelism. "Jesus knew the strategy of personal contacts" and so must today's herald.<sup>2</sup> Dedicated to the Students of Great Britain,

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"Kraemer and Zwemer were both conservative Dutchmen, as you know, and would very largely agree in their theology. Both were very strong in their Christology. Zwemer tended to the practical and Kraemer to the philosophical or theoretical approach. They would agree on discontinuity between Christianity and the non-Christian religions.

"Kraemer and Zwemer were both on our Princeton Institute of Theology Program." From a personal letter from Dr. Wilson to the author, January 13, 1967.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. development of this idea by Johannes Blauw, "The Biblical View of Man in His Religion," The Theology of the Christian Mission, ed. G. H. Anderson (London, 1961), pp. 31-41.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. S. M. Zwemer, "Broadcasting our Message," M.W., 29 (1939), 217-220 and "Veni, Sancte Spiritu," M.W., 30 (1940), 1-6.

Dynamic Christianity and the World Today (1939) speaks of the reliability of the Christian Message:

"That gospel which Paul preached has been the message of all who were in his apostolic succession, and is to-day, as in his day, 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.' Why should we be ashamed of its contents or its implications? In an age of doubt it is the only anchor of our hope; in the present chaos of international relations it alone can bring reconciliation."<sup>1</sup>

When W. E. Hocking and H. H. Riggs continued to press for the acceptance of their views, Zwemer replied with penetrating realism and urged his readers to take serious the findings of Madras.<sup>2</sup>

"The Cross is the one central message and method and power of Christianity. This evangel is startling news and good news to Moslems.... But that is the very reason we should always present the heart of the Christian Gospel.... There would have been no Apostolic missions, no medieval missions, no modern missions without the experience of redemption and the call to be ambassadors of the Cross....

"It is time that a protest be made against the misuse of the word, evangelism. It has only one etymological, New Testament, historical and theological connotation, namely, to tell the good news of One who came to earth to die on the Cross for us; who rose again and who ever lives to intercede for those who repent and believe the Gospel. To evangelize is to win disciples, to become fishers of men, to preach the Gospel message to all the nations."<sup>3</sup>

Samuel M. Zwemer was recognized in neo-evangelical circles as one who had helped keep the flame alive. One of his most popular books was The Cross Above the Crescent: the validity, necessity and urgency of missions to Moslems (1941). Zwemer rejects both the harsh polemics of the nineteenth century and the idea of a concilium of Christianity and Islam. He holds to the uniqueness, finality, sufficiency and supremacy of the Christ of the New Testament. While there is much that is good, there is "no other Name". There is cleavage between "Revelation" and the religions of the world:

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<sup>1</sup>Zwemer, Dynamic Christianity and the World Today (London, 1939), pp. 10f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. W. E. Hocking, Living Religions and a World Faith (London, 1940); H. H. Riggs, "Shall We Try Unbeaten Paths in Working for Moslems?" M.W., 31 (1941), 116-126; and S. M. Zwemer, "The Dynamic of Evangelism," M.W., 31 (1941), 109-115.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. M.W., 31 (1941), pp. 113ff.

"But between the earliest Revelation and God's last word is the Battle of the Books--the Word of God against the word of man. For there are many voices on religion, but only one Revelation. There have been many prophets, but only one Savior."<sup>1</sup>

He rejoices that Islam is being permeated by Christian ideals and spirit, but states there is no substitute for decisive discipleship and the forming of visible Christian communities (answer to Hocking, Toynbee and Riggs).

"After forty years' experience--sometimes heart-breaking experience...I am convinced that the nearest way to the Moslem heart is the way of God's love, the way of the Cross. Paul in his great chapter on this Christian love, as the true and excellent way, used the Greek word Agapè...."<sup>2</sup>

The basis for mission was again set forth: Into All the World. The Great Commission; A Vindication and an Interpretation (1943). Zwemer's last great volume on missions was Evangelism Today; Message not Method (1944). In reviewing this volume which saw five editions, Edward J. Jurji honored its author as one who possessed a "penetrating theological acumen, the burning heart of the pioneer, the charity and piety of the saint and the erudition of the scholar." Concerning the position of the "Evangel". It finds Zwemer in the company of Emil Brunner, Nels F. S. Ferre, C. H. Dodd, Karl Barth, C. S. Lewis and H. Kraemer. For Zwemer "the message is of far more importance than the method or the messenger".<sup>3</sup>

"The Cross of Christ is the searchlight of man's sin and the revelation of His love for sinners; in carrying this good news we need the power of Christ's Resurrection, we need faith not only in the seed but in the soil, and we may use every possible method to drive the one message to the conscience of the hearer. He that would be thoroughly furnished for this good word and work needs to 'possess his possessions' and be a minister like unto 'a flame of fire'."<sup>4</sup>

Many are the tributes given to Samuel M. Zwemer, but among the most fitting are

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<sup>1</sup>S. M. Zwemer, The Cross Above the Crescent: the validity, necessity and urgency of missions to Moslems (Grand Rapids, 1941), pp. 215f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 246ff.

<sup>3</sup>S. M. Zwemer, Evangelism Today; Message Not Method (New York, 1944), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



those by Kenneth Scott Latourette:

"There was something of the Old Testament prophet about Dr. Zwemer. He had the prophet's fearlessness and forthrightness, the burning conviction which would brook no compromise. That, indeed, must be true of any who would across the years present the message of Christ to adherents of so sturdy a faith as Islam. Yet there was in him much more than the Old Testament. It was the Old Testament fulfilled in the New. Dr. Zwemer was frankly a conservative Evangelical. In him there was no wavering or hesitation in the proclamation of the historic Evangelical faith. Yet he never forgot that Evangelical means Good News, and that the Good News of the Gospel is God's love. His zeal was always transfigured by love and it was not only for his simple unquestioning faith that those who were honored to be in the circle of his intimate friends will best remember him, but it will be also and primarily for his loving heart that they will recall him, a loving heart which was the reflection of God's love in Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Acknowledgement of his work as missionary and scholar was again to the point:

"Never in the history of the Church has any Christian covered the Moslem world so comprehensively, in study, travel, planning and advocacy of Missions to it as Dr. Zwemer....Dr. Zwemer has no illusions about the resistance which Islam presents to Christianity....Yet he has no doubt as to the ultimate triumph of the Cross."<sup>2</sup>

Samuel M. Zwemer provides an appropriate conclusion to this examination of Anglican and Reformed contributions to the Christian Mission to Muslims, 1800-1938. He himself was acquainted with if not participant in the several strands of nineteenth and twentieth century theology and mission. He was heir of the Protestantism which had been motivated by Pietism and the Evangelical Awakenings to evangelize the world, to displace the religions of the world with Faith in Christ. Zwemer, like Gairdner, represents the matured fruit of the labors of Martyn, French and others. Again, he was captivated with Duff's idea that education could be the handmaiden of evangelism in the creation of a Christian society. Yet he became alarmed when its objective was confined to the "enlightenment" of mankind. Again, he joined in the humanitarian concern for the "whole man" in the nineteenth century and approved of harnessing the science of medicine as a medium of mission. Yet when

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Introduction by Latourette to Apostle to Islam by J. C. Wilson, pp. 5f.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Ibid., p. 205.

this "handmaiden" also became an "end" in itself, a disinterested philanthropy, he called it into question. Again, the new "science of religion" and the historical-literary critical methods offered appealing solutions and promises of "progress" and "fulfillment". Yet in light of the harsh realities of a world at war and the totalitarian claims of man's religions, this too, soon appeared to be empty. Man's natural inclination is to feel he must create "handmaidens" for the Christian Gospel, only to discover that they, philosophy, education, philanthropy, etc. become domineering. At this critical point in history, Zwemer was among those who, like the Reformers, turned again to the Word of God. There they found an apt description of and answer to a world disillusioned with its own optimistic philosophy of man's ability. "The Triumph of God's Grace" was an answer needed by a world broken and gripped by the tragic reality of sin. It provided a rebirth, a Reformation, to those caught in the crisis of theology and mission. It provided a concrete basis for the Church's work in a transitional world. This it is fair to call Zwemer a link, a bridge between nineteenth century Reformed theology and Evangelical Missions, and the twentieth century "Theology of the Word" and Mission which has at its heart "The Message of Christ".

This strenuous passage from Henry Martyn to Samuel M. Zwemer was not in vain, for with it came growth and matured understanding.<sup>1</sup> Under the influence of

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<sup>1</sup>One is prone to agree with Latourette in that as "one attempts to summarize the course of Christianity thus far he becomes painfully aware of the imperfections and superficialities of the historian's craft. From the standpoint of the Christian affirmation the most important 'effects of Christianity on its environment' lie 'beyond history'. The environment with which Christianity deals is human lives and these, so Christians have always confidently declared, have only barely begun this side of what men call death and have their finest fruitage the other side of the grave....Into that life 'beyond the river' the historian cannot reach....Yet, difficult though the task...is, there is in it much of exciting challenge. The story of which we...write is one in which we live and are participants....Great issues are at stake, for us as individuals, for nations, for cultures, and for mankind and civilization as a whole. We are dealing with basic problems of human history. They have to do with the ultimate meaning of life." Expansion of Christianity, VII, pp. 1f.

pietism and evangelical faith, the Church rediscovered the motive and methods of missions. Later under the impact of introspective philosophy and new sciences, the Church gained appreciation for man and his society and God's concern for "humanity". Then as the world again seemed shrouded in darkness, the Grace and the Glory of the Transcendent God broke through in Jesus Christ and bore down upon the Church and the world. Who is to say that these are not necessary steps in the unfolding of God's will and way in Christ--of man's understanding of the Word, the world and the Coming Kingdom. Many questions remain unanswered and as "open-ended" as history itself. Discussions shall continue as long as the Church's task is "unfinished". Yet once again God is to be praised for the revitalization of His Church for the mission of communicating Christ, the Word Incarnate, to her Muslim neighbors.



## APPENDIX A: A SUMMARY EXAMINATION OF THE THREE PERSIAN TRACTS OF H. MARTYN

Two Muslim tracts prompted Martyn to take up the pen. The defensive tract of Mirza Ibrahim discloses an author with a keen mind and the ability to keep his work free of violent remarks. He declares that Islam is proven by miracles. Miracle is "an event or effect exceeding common experience". The one great superior, intellectual and lasting miracle of the Quran supports the divine mission of Muhammad and outclasses the imperfect miracles of Moses and Jesus. Muhammad's miracles are only mentioned in passing.

Attached to Mirza's tract is an extract of the much inferior work of Aga Akbar on the miracles of Muhammad. This article is not only of a poorer style, but basically a catalogue of sensational, often strange miracle stories drawn from the hadiths (traditions).

Henry Martyn responds in three tracts. In the first tract, he notes that he did not desire this controversy. It came to him. He begins and ends as follows:

"The Christian minister thanks the celebrated Professor of Islamism for the favour he has done him in writing an answer to his inquiries, but confesses that, after reading it, a few doubts occurred to him, on account of which, and not for the mere purpose of dispute, he has taken upon himself to write the following pages.... The Christian Minister, Henry Martyn."

Within the tract, Martyn stresses that miracle must exceed more than "common experience" e.g. say of the Arabs. It must exceed "universal experience". It must be submitted to (1) peoples of different places, (2) learned men who agree that it is not reproducible, and (3) comparison with secular world histories, not only the religious histories of the Arabs. The Quran, he declares, cannot stand these tests. Again the miracles recited by Akbar are rejected because these later hadiths were written for purpose of proselytism. Martyn contends that miracles to be acceptable must be (1) recorded by either the Prophet or his companions, i.e. first hand witnesses without a great time-lapse between the event and its account, and (2) be recorded in an environment free from the use of "force" in religious matters. It is well known that Muslims do not tolerate the latter.

The second tract demonstrates why faith should not be placed in Islam but in Christianity. The list of reasons include: the ancient prophecies do not mention Muhammad; his fallibility is seen in his relations with women, the use of the sword and rewards to make converts; and Islam's lack of a "means of salvation", i.e. a Person to make atonement. The point that "Mohammed was in a state of infidelity may be shewn from the Koran itself" was the only really aggressive note in these three tracts and it caused a sharp reaction in Persia. Positively, Martyn shows why the Scriptures are authentic; notes how the Quran cancels the Law and Gospel whereas the Gospel fulfills not abrogates the Law; and presents Jesus as the Word and Spirit of God, the worthy means of atonement (good works and mere repentance are insufficient). Martyn wisely gives the bulk

of his space to disclosing news of the Christ. The spread of the Christian faith, the transformation of men and society, is the greatest miracle and it was done by poor men without force. He closes with this appeal:

"It is now the prayer of the humble Henry Martyn that these things be considered with impartiality. If they become the means of procuring conviction, let not the fear of death or punishment operate for a moment to the contrary, but let this conviction have its legitimate effect; for the world, we know, passes away like the wind of the desert. But if what has been stated does not produce conviction, my prayer is that God Himself may instruct you; that as hitherto you have held what you believed to be the truth, you may now become teachers of that which is really so; and that He may grant you to be the means of bringing others to the knowledge of the same, through Jesus Christ, who has loved us and washed us in His own blood, to whom be the power and glory for ever and ever. Amen."

Martyn's third tract deals with the doctrines of the Sufism prevalent in Persia. This naturally touches upon the questions of emanation, immanence and union with God. He agrees that there is no question concerning "the truth of the unity of Deity, or that union with him constitutes perfection, and is the greatest of human achievements". But he argues that neither (1) the "contemplation" of the Sufis nor (2) "the way of works" as adopted by some Jews, Muslims and Christians (e.g. Romanists) is an adequate means. These stress man's approach to God while the Christian faith teaches that God approaches man. God's goodness and holiness, in sharp contrast to man's sinfulness, must be revealed not imagined. More than the fear of God's wrath (the basic motive in Islam, he claims) is needed if reconciliation is to be effected. "According to the Gospel, union is obtained with God when the Spirit of God dwells in man." "Wisdom of God", "Word of God", "Image of the invisible God" and other titles given to Jesus Christ indicate he is the manifestation of the God-manward movement. He then presents Jesus, his sacrifice, and miracles as verified by the testimony of the Apostles and secular historians. He emphasizes the "inward nature" (not outward observance) of the Christian faith in its obedience to God.

Except for the charges laid against Muhammad, these three tracts are very considerate of the Muslim reader. There is, however, a heavy strand of rationalism intertwined with Martyn's evangelicalism. He follows the eighteenth century pattern of "evidences". In application this makes miracles--rational proofs. Martyn is at his best when positively presenting Christ and the new life. His ability to focus upon the person and work of Jesus and the "inward transforming" new life in Christ draw justifiable credit.

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Source: cf. Samuel Lee, Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism Translated and Explained (Cambridge, 1824).

APPENDIX B: A SUMMARY EXAMINATION OF MIZAN-AL-HAQQ, THE BALANCE OF TRUTH  
BY K. G. PFANDER

Pfander clearly states his purpose in the introduction:

"Our object in writing this book is not controversy and strife; it is only to enable those Mussulmans who are earnest seekers of the truth to attain the object of their desires, by laying before them the state of the case. Therefore, O thou who readest this book, thy friend who has written these pages out of a desire for thy eternal happiness, and on account of the love which he owes to his fellow-men, begs thee to bring to their consideration a sincere heart and an undistracted mind; that, laying bigotry aside, thou mayest read them through again and again. And do thou pray for His grace who is the Dispenser of light, in order that thou mayest find the truth; for until a man is illuminated by His light, he cannot find the path of truth and happiness." (Weakley edition)

The introduction contains the essence of the argument. It might be summarized thus: After an acceptable oriental tribute to God, Pfander acknowledges that God has revealed himself. God has made a way for man, sinful as he is, to seek and find the truth: namely reason and revelation. True happiness is not to be found in sensual pleasure or wealth but in fulfillment of the object of man's creation: to know, serve, and please God. His major premise is that one can win a satisfying knowledge of God only through divine revelation. This is the key to all. But since there are two major monotheistic religions which claim to have this revelation (Christianity and Islam), which is right? There are six criteria or tests by which one can discover the True Revelation: (i) True Revelation must satisfy the yearnings of the human spirit to obtain eternal happiness, i.e. knowledge of truth, pardon, purification; (ii) must be in accordance with moral law, conscience; (iii) must reveal God as just, holy, rewarding good, punishing evil; (iv) must reveal God as One, eternal, almighty, unchanging in purpose as He deals with the Universe; (v) must make clear the way of salvation, and in its teaching upon that subject there must be no contradiction in meaning; and (vi) as no book or prophet can possibly reveal God fully to men, there must be a personal manifestation of God so as to call men to faith in all ages thereafter.

The main body of the work contains three parts which can be summarized thus: Part I. In proof that the Old Testament and the New Testament are the Word of God and that they have been neither corrupted nor abrogated, Pfander offers this support: (chapter 1) testimony of the Quran to the Bible; (2) the Bible has never been abrogated in its facts, doctrines, and moral principles (avoids the issue of minor word changes); (3) the Bible now in circulation is the one existing in Muhammad's time; and (4) it has not undergone corruption either before or after his time. In Part II, Pfander aims to set forth the principle doctrines of the Holy Scriptures and to show that their teaching is in conformity with the criteria of the True Revelation as stated in the introduction. This includes: the attributes of God, the condition of man in sin, the way of salvation, its achievement in Christ, the triune manifestation of the One God, the life and conduct of a true Christian, and the manner and



history of the spread of early Christianity. In Part III, Pfander makes a candid inquiry into the claim of Islam to be God's final revelation. He attacks the claims that the Bible prophesied Muhammad; that the language and style of the Quran prove it is a miracle and inspired (points out certain contradictions); that Muhammad worked miracles; that his life and conduct were as lofty as described by Muslim writers; and that Islam spread as a religion should, without compulsion. In this sector, Pfander becomes polemical in dealing with Muslim miracles, the Quran and Muhammad. A prophet must meet these tests: his teaching must not oppose previous revelations; it must be supported by evidence, e.g. miracles or prophecy; it must be supported by befitting conduct; and it must not be enforced by violence. He finds Muhammad wanting!

Within the text, Pfander has urged the reader to open "the door of thine heart to the glad tidings of salvation so that Jesus Christ may enter in" (Weakley edition, p. 68). In the conclusion, he expands his appeal:

"Now, respected reader, we have together examined all the asserted proofs of the truth of Islam, and we have inquired into Muhammad's claim to be the Lord of the Apostles and the Seal of the Prophets. It lies with you to decide for yourself, in the sight of God who knoweth men's hearts, whether this claim is true or false. May God Most Merciful guide you to a right decision!

"You have to choose between the Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, and Muhammad ibn 'Abd-Allāh; between Him who went about doing good and him who is called the Prophet with the Sword; between Him who said 'Love your enemies,' and him who said, 'Slay your enemies and the enemies of God'; between Him who prayed for His murderers, and him who caused those who lampooned him to be murdered. You are doubtless aware of what kind were Christ's life and character, and you know that these form one of the most decisive of the proofs of the truth of His claims.... Christ is alive, while Muhammad is dead. Which of the two is the better able to help you? ...You believe that Christ will come again, and are now expecting His return with fear....For 'we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ.' To Him...every knee should bow .... Some day you must kneel before Him; why not now?

"We bring you the good news of His love.... Pray therefore, my brother that God may guide you aught and lead you to a right decision in this great matter ere it is too late.... So shall you find the Truth in Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.... You shall receive from His pierced hand the crown of everlasting life." (Tisdall edition)

APPENDIX C:

THE SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE

Founded in 1866, Syrian Protestant College gained academic respect and retained a Christian atmosphere under Daniel Bliss, its first president (1866-1902). At his retirement there were five departments (preparatory, collegiate, commercial, medicine and pharmacy), an enrollment of six hundred, and a faculty of forty (one-half American) on the beautiful campus overlooking the Mediterranean Sea. Daniel Bliss held firmly to the principles stated in the Preamble:

"WHEREAS, It is deemed essential for the promotion of Protestant Missions and Christian civilization in Syria to establish an institution where native youth may obtain in their own country and language, a literary and scientific education; and ....

WHEREAS, It is the distinct purpose of the founders of this College to have it conducted on principles, strictly Protestant and evangelical, but not sectarian or such as to exclude students of any sect or nationality who will conform to its laws; designing also so to identify the College with the interests of the people, as to make it thoroughly indigenous, and entertaining the hope that, in the course of years the instruction of the institution may be wholly committed to competent evangelical natives...."

By precept and example, Daniel Bliss fulfilled his dedicatory statement: "It will be impossible for anyone to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief." In the early years, the faculty included fellow ministers such as D.S. Dodge, George Post, C.V.A. Van Dyck and John Wortabet. All courses stressed Christian views and principles. Bible study, stimulating discussions, a Sunday School, daily prayers and participation in the Church in Beirut resulted in a revival (1885). John R. Mott, leading campus evangelistic meetings (1895), noted that one fourth of the graduates to date had entered Christian service as teachers and ministers. But this evangelical program began to break down with an influx of younger faculty members not sharing the founder's views. As long as Bliss was President and William Booth headed up the Board of Trustees, the "Declaration of Principles" was applied, however, and the storms of rebellion in 1888 and 1895 were put down.

These safeguards were abandoned under the founder's son and the school's second president, Howard Bliss (1902-1920). The "Declaration" became a model instead of a test. Requirements of daily chapel and bible classes were modified. Student agitation and World War I hastened the process. When the local Board of Managers (mainly missionaries and Syrian Christians) turned their responsibilities over to the Faculty (1902), remaining Christian controls were rapidly swept away. Professor D.S. Dodge, one of the few retaining the original vision, fought a last ditch battle. For the time, the Board of Trustees backed his statement:

"First, the College was not established merely for higher secular education, or the inculcation of morality. One of its chief objects is to teach the great truths of Scripture; to be a centre of Christian light and influence; and to lead its students to understand and accept a pure Christianity, and go out to profess and commend it in every walk of life...

Fifth, it has been suggested that the system of voluntary attendance might relieve the difficulty.... Concessions such as these, if granted, would go far to neutralize any positive witness for Christ and evangelical Christianity which we might hope to maintain...."

Howard S. Bliss, respected leader that he was, reflected the liberal theological outlook popular at the turn of the century which accepted Christianity as ideals, ethics and experience rather than the revelation of God in Christ in history. Jesus was the model of perfect character rather than the Messiah of God. A new educational law by the government ruled that religious instruction could be given only to Protestants and that worship services and bible courses could be offered only on a voluntary basis. While most students would continue to participate in these assemblies up to World War II, the swing to a secular or simply "religious" outlook was apparent. The inaugural address of President Bayard Dodge (1923) could not have offended anyone:

"To us Protestantism means religious freedom....We feel that religion is not an ulterior aim of education; it is not a quantity of tangible facts to be taught, or a creed to be subscribed to; it is something much more fundamental; it is consciousness of a spiritual power, controlling life and seeking good.... It is for the mosque, synagogue, or church, to provide the practical formalities of organized religion, but the school should join them in fostering a consciousness of God, and a desire to live in accordance with God's moral purposes."

It is easy to observe the institution's drift from the Christian orbit into the world of secular liberal education. Many institutions founded upon Christian principles in the United States were undergoing this process at the same time. "Liberal theology," increased governmental controls, inadequate financial support from Christian sources, and the need to appeal to a wider clientele were among the visible causes for this trend.

This institution was renamed the American University of Beirut (1920) and continued to play a significant role in the regeneration of the people of Syria and the great social, cultural and political Arab renaissance of the twentieth century. Its ever growing enrollment contains a high percentage of Muslims and others as well as Protestant, Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. While no longer acknowledged as a "Christian School", the University has international fame for its academic excellence, its research, and various social services. In a sense it remains the "gift" of its Christian founders to the peoples of Syria and the Near East.

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Sources: Quotations from S.B.L. Penrose, That They May Have Life: the Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941 (New York, 1941), pp. 309, 139ff, 292. Also cf. F.J. Daniel, The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss (New York, 1920), esp. pp. 219ff; Jessup, Fifty-Five Years, I, 303, II, 707ff; Addison, Christian Approach to the Muslim, p. 130; George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (London, 1939), pp. 35ff; Time Magazine (July 8, 1966); and personal interviews.



#### APPENDIX D: AN EXAMINATION OF THE APOLOGETICS OF W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL

The Sources of Islam (1900-1901) by Tisdall caused a stir almost equal to his revised version of Pfander's Balance of Truth. Muslims did not appreciate critical scholarship which found Islam's origins in pre-Islamic customs, Sabaeism, Judaism, heretical Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Tisdall demonstrated his thesis by tracing the sources of certain stories found in the Quran and the Hadiths.

His earlier lectures, The Religion of the Crescent (1895) reveals his scholarship and understanding of Islam. In Lecture I, he sympathetically describes the great truths and strengths of Islam and credits Muhammad with making real improvements over Arab heathenism. Lecture II covers the weaknesses of Islam; its errors regarding God's nature (a despot without love), sin and man's nature, the atonement, prayer, eternity, plus its inaccuracies regarding the cosmos, history and Biblical accounts. Islam has survived because its error is so interwoven into truth. Yet it is contrary to God's fullest revelation, a substitute for faith in Christ. Making use of recent research, Lecture III points out that Islam is a reshaping of Abrahamic faith and Arab heathenism. There are five basic strands in Islam: (1) Pre-Islamic religion and its modified forms, (2) Sabaeism and Talmudic Judaism, (3) apocryphal and dissenting forms of Christianity, (4) Zoroastrianism and (5) elements growing out of Muhammad's personality and experience. Different combinations of these explain the various Islamic sects and traditions. Lecture IV concentrates on the practices and fruits of Islam to observe the omissions in Muslim family life, the mistaken identification of politics and religion, an intellectual life enslaved to a "golden past" and a Quran which represses the freedom to reason. Tisdall urges Christians to engage in missions to Muslims and reports on their success in the Punjab. He warns that the "carnal" methods of the crusaders must be replaced by a full reliance upon the spirit and way of Christ, upon love and sacrificial service to others. His vision of the future may be partially correct:

"It is a rash thing to venture to predict the future of Islam, but it seems to me at least that the hopeful pictures which European enthusiasts have drawn of a reformed and purified Islam co-existing with Christianity are merely imaginary. We may well believe that the progress of education and the leavening influence of Christianity will lead to the formation in the Muhammadan world of more and more numerous reformed and non-orthodox sects. These, while still professing Islam, will strive more and more to get rid of the Traditions and to eliminate many of the manifest absurdities of the popular creed. Many statements of the Qur'an will be explained away and others mystically interpreted.... The most earnest men will gradually draw nearer and nearer to Christianity, and the end will come gradually and almost imperceptibly, the darkness fading into twilight and the twilight vanishing in the full glory of the dawn of the Sun of Righteousness. Those Muslims who are unwilling to follow this path will find--as not a few even now do--that their Faith is opposed to their Reason, and will gradually lapse into unbelief and Atheism. But for all this the only cure lies, not in attempting to bolster up the decaying Faith of Islam, but in the full and free preaching of the Gospel of Christ." (pp. 230f)

In India: Its History, Darkness and Dawn (1901), Tisdall describes for university students the methods and results of evangelization in that great land. Incidentally he discloses his own concept of mission. Much stress is given to the Church:

"It is well understood that foreign missionaries, however high their attainments and however deep their spirituality may be, cannot do more than begin the work of the conversion of India. That grand and glorious task must, under God, be brought to a successful issue by the Indian Church itself." (pp. 112ff)

Tisdall emphasized the need of Christian unity, the imperative of lay witness and the danger of corrupting the simplicity of the Gospel with sacerdotalism. A chapter deals with misconceptions concerning a "proper attitude towards non-Christian religions". He deals with those romantics, rationalists and "orientalists" who accuse missionaries of injuring the process of civilization by disturbing native religions and who advocate half-way houses or religious-philosophical systems which embrace all religions as valid (e.g. Carlyle, Davenport, Canon Taylor, Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures [1878], etc.). Tisdall writes:

"Many people credit missionaries with a firm conviction that all religions but the Christian are simply and solely devices of the Evil One intended to destroy men's souls....owing to our increased acquaintances with the great religions and philosophies of the East, people are learning the fact that in every such faith or system there is to be found a certain modicum of truth and wisdom.... [Yet] A superficial student of Comparative Religion is only too apt to content himself with hasty generalizations, and to mistake for example, the Hindu Trimurti for the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.... It is the want of such thoroughly accurate and scientific study, coupled as it too frequently is with an eager desire for novelty and a false liberality of sentiment, that leads many otherwise logical minds to imagine that Christianity differs in degree merely and not in kind from other great systems of religion. Of course persons who assume the latter theory as an axiom ... will never be able...to enter at all into the objects and aim of a Christian missionary, whether he belongs to the first or to the Twentieth century." (pp. 120f.)

A scholarly missionary does not cull out a few gems from a religion, but studies its consequence for the whole life of a people. Tisdall agrees with Tertullian and Calvin that the truth appearing in these cultures is the "spark" left, a witness to the Creator. This light of Socrates and Plato does not quench man's desire for the Light (Good-News) from God in the face of Jesus Christ, however. Man's reconciliation with God can only be effected in Christ, not by speculative philosophies. The records are full of such attempts and failures (e.g. Manicheans).

"History, ancient and modern, speaks with no uncertain voice as to the possibility of forming a substitute for the simple gospel of the historical Christ." (p. 139)

Man's longings and needs are best fulfilled in Christ. Tisdall holds that men should follow the pattern of Justin Martyr, who although he continued to wear the philosopher's cloak long after he embraced the Gospel (because it became for him the only true philosophy, cf. Dialogue with Tryphone, ch. 8), yet never tried to amalgamate the Christian faith with Platonism.



Tisdall's apologetic method is best set forth in the book prepared for missionaries, A Manual of the Leading Muhammadan Objections to Christianity (1904). He advises using the Quran where possible in reply and to begin on such themes as "the unity of God". Tisdall considered the "objections" or "difficulties" faced by the Muslim as those springing from the unregenerate human nature (common to all men, Rom. 8:7) or from his Islamic background in confrontation with Christ. Selected excerpts disclose Tisdall's sympathetic spirit and approach:

"(1) Remember that our aim is not to silence our opponent, nor to gain a merely logical victory, but to win souls to Christ. Hence, in argument, we should endeavour to remove misconceptions.... We must not expect to convert a soul. That is the work of the Holy Spirit,...urge the inquirer...prayerfully to read the Bible, especially the New Testament. (2) Endeavour to limit the discussion on each occasion to one or two definite points, which should be settled upon with your opponent beforehand.... (3) It is impossible to pay too much attention to fairness and courtesy in your arguments.... Regard him as a brother for whom Christ died, and to whom you are sent with the message of reconciliation.... Never let an argument degenerate into a quarrel.... (6) Never be beguiled into answering such a question as, 'What do you think of Muhammad?' or into making a direct attack upon him.... (7) The missionary should be careful to give some title of courtesy to Muhammad.... (8) Be careful of the theological terms you use. See that you thoroughly understand them yourself in the first place, not merely the English terms but the words used in the native languages.... Whenever your opponent quotes and founds an argument upon any passage in the Bible (or Qur'an) make a point of turning to that passage and ascertaining from the context exactly what is said and what is meant.... (11) Readily accept, and make it plain that you heartily accept, all the truth that is in any way common to Christianity and Islam.... e.g. that Christ is Kalimtu' llah (the Word of God). (12) Try to convince of sin and man's need of a Saviour.... Endeavour to reach men's hearts and not merely their intellects. Appeal to them as men for whom Christ died,.... (13) Put yourself as much as possible in your opponent's place, so as to try to understand his difficulties.... (15) Finally, let the servant of Christ remember and act on Bengal's advice: 'Never enter upon controversy without knowledge, without love, without necessity,' and, let us add, with prayer!' " (pp. 13-23)

Chapters two through eight proceeded in "dialogue" form answering questions regarding the Bible, various Christian teachings and the Christian understanding of Muhammad's role in history. They were to serve as helps for Christian workers rather than for Muslim readers. Tisdall's method was to strive to remove all obstacles so that the Gospel Message itself, not his book, person or method could appeal to a man's heart and conscience. He fully realized the limits of rational argument and refused to abuse Islam or its Prophet for argument's sake. His aim was to sweep away barriers so that the Word and Spirit of God in Christ might enter and transform the listener's life. This stress on communication of the Gospel was a marked improvement over many nineteenth century apologetic approaches.

The Christian Message was the needed "corrective" and "enrichment" of Islamic half-truths which are too "dimly perceived and neglected or distorted". (1) The



APPENDIX E: AN EXAMINATION OF "THE VALUES OF CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM"  
PREPARED BY W.H.T. GAIRDNER AND W.A. EDDY FOR THE  
JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

The paper falls into three parts: (1) the question of "spiritual values" in Islam, (2) how Christianity transcends and answers Islamic theology, and (3) the problem of "communication"--the pouring of Christian content into "Islamic half-truths"--and of "community"--making the Church a spiritual home for converts from Islam. Gairdner cautiously prefixes the paper with a note on "kinetic" and "potential" values in Islam so that no one will misconstrue his use of this unhappy term, "values" into a synonym for "truths". "Values" for him are only those things of worth to the Muslim, "vital element(s) which contribute to the amelioration of individual or group life". He doesn't accept "values" as "universals" found in all religions inasmuch as every religion is unique.

Six main Islamic "values" are listed. These Islamic "half-truths" are not to be understood as something acquired by human reason, religious experience, natural theology, or separate Muslim revelation, but simply as "bad copies" of the Judaeo-Christian Faith inadequately conveyed to Muhammad and his followers in the early milieu of Islam. (p. 244) (1) The Muslim Doctrine of God as power, absolute and irresistible, as "unconditioned Might", forces God's love and holiness into recession. Yet by beginning with the Islamic ideas of Holy Spirit and the Logos Doctrine, the Christian can start to lead the Muslim to the Biblical God, the Transcendent God who can be present, communicate and act in the temporal world. (2) The Quranic Veneration for Jesus can be a starting point in transferring Muslim affection and loyalty from Muhammad to Jesus as the "living" intercessor (wagih). Indeed the "Islamic teaching is not intentionally derogatory or antagonistic to the claims of Christ; it is an attempt to venerate and esteem him". (3) The esteemed Muslim Devotional Life reaching a peak in Quranic chanting, the emotional Zikr and the Sufi "Way" point to a desire for "the ideal of life in and for God". (4) Personal attachment to Muhammad makes possible the Islamic system of "minute legalism and casuistry" and impedes "moral progress". If Muslims would take historical criticism serious, they would turn from the adoration of this "wholly idealized leader" and find in the Christ, a new life. (5) Islamic fraternity does create a powerful force, gripping the individual Muslim. (6) Islam's self-propagation warrants some merit but its compromising adjustment to human nature leaves much to be desired --that which only an indigenous Church can resolve.

In part two, "Values in Christianity", the Christian Faith is seen as the "corrective" and "fulfillment" of Islam in the sense that it resolves the human dilemma and brings man into a realization of that for which he was created. The assignment given to Gairdner was:

"only to emphasize afresh those features of the Christian message and experience which are of first importance in the conflict with Islam. There is no element of Christianity which is not needed desperately in Moslem lands, as elsewhere. We can note here only those elements which specifically cure the maladies and fill the voids created by Islam."

The Christian Message then is the needed "corrective" and "enrichment of Islamic half-truths" which are but "dimly perceived and neglected or distorted". (1) The

Holiness and Love of God revealed in Christ must correct the hard deistic, non-moral notions of Will and Force found in Islam. (2) Only knowledge of God's activity and human responsibility can correct the Muslim fatalism--quietism which tolerates sin and social suffering.

"At the expense of appearing to obscure the proofs of divine omnipotence, Christianity must insist upon God's desire for man's cooperation in reclaiming the waste places of this world. The Sacrifice on the Cross,... nay, a hundred truths, have taught the Christian what his Moslem brother does not know: that God appeals to man, but does not compel his obedience. ... God's providence does indeed control all, but it is a providence of love, not of imposed and irresistible power."

(3) The N.T. concepts of salvation through a faith-relationship and eternal life are needed to correct the Muslim's mistaken idea that salvation comes by adherence to the community and creed and results in a sensual paradise. (4) The Biblical concept of the Holy Spirit is essential to disclose how God can be both transcendent and "in our hearts". This vital point resolves issues with which many Muslim mystics have long struggled. (5) Again the Muslim "hunger for a mediator who shall be a high-priestly intercessor" can be satisfied only with a transfer of allegiance from the limited Muhammad to the eternal Messiah.

"Communication" is the concern of part three. The Christian Faith must be understood as a living experience, not simply intellectual assent to orthodoxy. Thus the Church confronted by Islam must work out its "theology experientially". (a) The Doctrine of the Trinity affirms that God is not only transcendent but that "He is here... is touched with the feeling of man's infirmities". This doctrine must be faced squarely for it deals with the experience of "Reality". Islam's agnostic reply that "God is unknowable" or that "Revelation is only a formal and mechanical link between incompatibles" is a retrogression to a distorted O.T. mentality. Christians must continue to witness to their experience of "God in Christ" because according to the N.T. "God's essential nature" has been revealed through the incarnate Messiah and the effusion of the Holy Spirit to be experienced (not simply defined) in the human heart. (b) The Incarnation and Atonement of Christ must not be neglected:

"In saying that the Christian message must ever center in Christ, and in Christ crucified, the center of gravity is not thereby made to fall outside God;... for Jesus Christ, and in particular Christ crucified, is the definitive projection of God upon the world of space and time... All these differences of view culminate in the Cross, which (rather than the Incarnation) is the battleground between the two faiths. To the Moslem, as to the carnal Jew, the Cross is a blasphemy, the very embodiment of weakness and defeat; to the Christian it is the very symbol of moral strength and victory, and through it he has learned to say 'the weakness of God is stronger than men.' ...The Incarnation says 'God was in Christ': the Atonement adds, 'reconciling man unto Himself.' "

Only the communication of this can lead Muslims to experience the "heart of the Eternal God" who has projected himself into the world. (c) Workers must get away from the "gentle Jesus" (of oriental Christianity and liberal Protestantism)

to the triumphant "Living Intercessor" who is more than a match for the "dead Prophet". (d) Christian worship too must be upgraded to convey "the true riches of experience in God's glory" and to surpass the best of Muslim mysticism in "the secret of freedom and spirituality, combined with reverence and order". (e) A "Christian Brotherhood" like that of the first centuries likewise will attract Muslims who know only the limited "Islamic Fraternity". (f) Christian practices of "Chastity and Family Life" again can attract Muslims dissatisfied with Near Eastern practices of marriage, sex, etc.

In conclusion, we must learn the key lesson concerning method: there are but two agencies for winning Muslims (Islam) to the King, namely "the Spirit of Jesus" and the Church as "A Spiritual Home for Converts".

"The justification of missions to Islam is not to be found in the superiority of Western culture or theology or even morals...but rather in the fact that Islam is predominantly a religion of the letter, Christianity the religion of the spirit.... The Spirit of God which was in Him, and which through Him is the divine Means of Grace today.... Nothing but the Spirit can bind and free Islam. ... The Spirit of the Father in Jesus Christ...."

The Church remains both the object and agent of God's mission. Under "A Spiritual Home for Converts" the best of Gairdner comes forth to present the Church as the full realization of life for and with God, hence the fulfillment of the destiny for which man was created by God.

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APPENDIX G: A POSTSCRIPT TO TEMPLE GAIRDNER

The scholarly evangelistic approach of W.H.T. Gairdner, his sympathetic understanding of Islam, and his great concern for the indigenous Church did not cease with Jerusalem, 1928. His concern that the Church be enabled to live amid the stresses of the Near East--amid this great "organized religious system", ever witnessing to the populace under its sway-- is continued in such Anglicans as W. Wilson Cash, S.A. Morrison, Kenneth Cragg, et. al. Their emphasis upon the Church as the witnessing Body of Christ, the Logos in active contact with the world and its religions (hence the need of serious study of other religions in the shaping of an apologetic presentation of the Gospel) is a healthy balance to the continental emphasis upon the Christian Message as the unique revelation of the Transcendent God of Grace and the utter "discontinuity" (hence the need to concentrate upon Proclamation, Witness). Much in the same way that Gairdner and Zwemer complemented each other in the first quarter of the century, so have Cragg and Kraemer served the Church in Mission in more recent days.

Respected by Gairdner for his work in Egypt, William Wilson Cash's sympathetic understanding of Muslim mysticism and of the indigenous Church served him well as General Secretary of the C.M.S. Heading the British delegation to Jerusalem (1928), his report firmly rooted the Faith in "revelation". Cash also had a role in selecting H. Kraemer for the preparation of the now famous Tambaram volume. Conscious of the change in the Muslim world,<sup>1</sup> he called for presenting the "unadulterated message of Christ" not some "diluted form of Western Christianity".<sup>2</sup> Mission policy must be re-orientated to give the indigenous churches greater responsibility for evangelism.<sup>3</sup> Cash's own approach however relies heavily upon "religious experience" at times:

"In my earlier days as a missionary I studied controversy and examined the Koran critically for the purpose of argument and debate. But I came to realize the utter futility of it.... For years I searched for a key to the Moslem mind, a way of approach that would not alienate.... I asked myself, Is there anything similiar in the two religions which would enable Moslems and Christians alike to approach the subject of their faith in a better spirit? ... I became intrigued by the strength of the Dervish orders .... They were seekers after God. They sought a spiritual experience through meditation upon God that would help them in their lives. This drove me to a further study of the influences of mysticism upon Islam.... I came to the conclusion that I could frankly accept the reality of their experience without in any way detracting from my own conviction that in and through Christ men find ultimate reality...Christ can therefore be presented to all the world as the hope of mankind without it being necessary

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<sup>1</sup> W.W. Cash, The Moslem World in Revolution (London, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> W.W. Cash, "The Missionary Outlook and the Moslem Problem," M.W., 11 (1921), 138-144 and "The Christian Approach to Moslems," M.R.W., Oct. 1926, 786ff.

<sup>3</sup> W.W. Cash, "Missionary Policy: A New Orientation," The East and West Review, 1 (1935), 14-21.

to decry or vilify sages and leaders of other ages. He is the revelation of God to mankind, and because of this He is the crown of all religions. He is as one has said, 'The express image of God's person'." 4

This approach was criticized by his friend, Kraemer at Tambaram, who insisted that since the Faith rested upon Revelation rather than religious experience, it called for proclamation rather than fraternization.<sup>5</sup> Appreciative of Kraemer's contribution, Cash continued his biblical studies and work for the missionary church.<sup>6</sup>

After 1923, S.A. Morrison was a joyful comrade to Gairdner in the work of evangelism.<sup>7</sup> As Secretary of the C.M.S. in Egypt, Morrison became a prominent figure in Near Eastern Missions and was highly respected, even consulted by H. Kraemer prior to Madras.<sup>8</sup> Morrison tackled the two great ecclesiastical and environmental problems. The Oriental Churches were the "key to the problem of Moslem evangelism" and it was up to the Anglican Church to awaken "the immense powers which lie latent in them" for a witness in true "Partnership" in mission.<sup>9</sup> Bishop MacInnes and Bishop Gwynne supported this program. Taking off from Zwemer's realistic report,<sup>10</sup> he went on to study the question of "religious liberty" in Near Eastern Lands. His sensible reports, especially at Madras, advocated (1) concrete effort to secure "religious liberty", (2) to detach the Gospel from foreign politics, (3) to allow the Gospel to be related to the indigenous culture, and (4) to realize the truly ecumenical character of the Church which rises above national politics.<sup>11</sup> Already one finds Morrison stressing the need to "interpret" the Christian Message via "Christian presence" and practice:

"The primary call to the Church of Christ in the Near East is to atone to the Moslem and Jewish peoples for the centuries of

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<sup>4</sup> W.W. Cash, Christendom and Islam: Their Contacts and Cultures down the Centuries (Haskell Lectures, Oberlin, 1936), Edinburgh, 1937, pp. 7-11, 78ff, 167ff.

<sup>5</sup> H. Kraemer, The Christian Message, pp. 357f.

<sup>6</sup> W.W. Cash, The Missionary Church (London, 1939) plus six commentaries.

<sup>7</sup> S.A. Morrison, "A New Approach to the Moslem Student," M.W., 12 (1912), 373-85; "Modern Types of Moslem Thought," M.W., 15 (1925), 374-384; "El Azhar, Today and Tomorrow," M.W., 16 (1926), 131-137; "The Church in Egypt," C.M. Review, (June, 1927), 134-146; "New Tendencies in Islamic Religious Thought," I.R.M., 16 (1927), 199-215; "Theory and Practice of Evangelism with Special Reference to Egypt," I.R.M., 19 (1930), 550-562; "The Indigenous Churches and Muslim Evangelism," I.R.M., 25 (1936), 306-320; and "Missions to Muslims," I.R.M., 27 (1938), 601-615.

<sup>8</sup> Hallencreutz, Kraemer towards Tambaram, p. 273.

<sup>9</sup> S.A. Morrison, The Way of Partnership: With the C.M.S. in Egypt and Palestine (London, 1936), esp. pp. 28-31.

<sup>10</sup> S.M. Zwemer, The Law of Apostasy in Islam (London, 1923).

<sup>11</sup> S.A. Morrison, "The Church and the State," Madras Series, VI, 90ff.



misrepresentation of the person of her master, and to reveal Him as Saviour and Lord, by life and by word. There is no other way to win the peoples of Palestine and Egypt to Christ than the way of the incarnate and crucified Lord, the way of love and the way of suffering. The Christian Church must 'out-think, out-live, and out-love' Islam. As the rigid Moslem doctrine of divine Unity compels the Christian theologian to reconsider the precise meaning and richness of content of the doctrine of the Trinity, so the moral and spiritual coldness of the Moslem peoples in response to the Christian message calls for still more lavish and joyous outpouring of the sacrifice and service in the Spirit of the Risen Christ." <sup>12</sup>

Certainly the labors of W.H.T. Gairdner have not been lost. They have been reflected upon and enlarged upon within the Anglican community by the probing scholarship of W. Montgomery Watt; <sup>13</sup> by the persisting awareness of the presence of the Incarnate Christ of E.C. Dewick; <sup>14</sup> by the surveys of John S. Trimingham; and by the Evangelical concern and action in behalf of Muslims seen in Douglas Webster and Max Warren. <sup>15</sup> Undoubtedly the most respected Anglican authority on Christian Mission with reference to Islam today is A. Kenneth Cragg. He best represents that blend of evangelical conviction, Islamic scholarship and concern to communicate biblical Christianity in terms comprehensible to Muslims-- that which so occupied the life and thought of Temple Gairdner. <sup>16</sup> Developing the concept of "Christian Presence", he provides a healthy complement to the stress upon "Proclamation" in the ongoing discussion of the Christian Mission to Muslims.

<sup>12</sup> Morrison, The Way of Partnership, pp. 79f.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., cf. W.M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca (Oxford, 1953), Muhammad at Medina (Oxford, 1956), Muslim Intellectual: A Study of Al-Ghazali (London, 1963), Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Edinburgh, 1962). A perusal of Professor Watt's numerous volumes and scholarly articles (cf. Index Islamicus) reveals the extent of his research.

<sup>14</sup> While holding that Christ is the central revelation of God, Dewick rejects Kraemer's claims as to the finality and absoluteness of that Revelation. Cf. The Indwelling God (London, 1936); The Gospel and Other Faiths (London, 1948); and The Christian Attitude to Other Religions (London, 1953), pp. 93ff, 137ff and esp. resume, p. 202. For a contrast read Bonhoeffer's Christology, which asserts that "truth" is not simply propositional but "personal".

<sup>15</sup> Cf. bibliography.

<sup>16</sup> For a partial listing of the works of A.K. Cragg, cf. the bibliography, and the periodicals Muslim World and International Review of Missions. His scholarly sympathetic studies and instruction at the Jerusalem School (summers) have been of inspiration and help to many.

APPENDIX H. A SUMMARY OF "THE THEOLOGY OF THE WORD AND MISSIONS" BY K. HARTENSTEIN

Karl Hartenstein, the Director of the Basel Missionary Society, hammers home the missionary implications of "the self-manifestation of God in Jesus Christ" --the One who is not a religious idea, mere teacher of ethics or religion, but the "incarnation of the eternal Word of God" and "Saviour of the World". Such "Revelation" can never be attained nor controlled by man and stands in sharp contrast to the reason, cultures and religions of man. The Church's mission is to bear witness to this "Revelation" in the "world of other religions".

"We are told that missionary work must be nothing less than the Church of God in actu confessionis, nothing less than the proclaiming of God in the world. A number of definitions of missionary work must then be called in question. Missions cannot be 'the spreading of Christianity,' the spreading that is, of western religions and ecclesiastical forms, but a proclaiming of the word of God which is always calling afresh for a decision for or against Christ. Missions, again, cannot be 'the evangelization of the world in this generation,' but only a witness of the word of God which is always being accepted by one and rejected by another. Missions cannot be 'the sharing of the social and cultural benefits of the West,' for the whole of Christian culture stands at a period of terrible crisis, every section of it under the judgment of God. Missions cannot be the "preaching the social gospel" in order to bring in a new social and political world order. The Church knows that the present age will pass away, and she 'looks for a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.' The one thing needful is to learn anew what is meant by preaching the word of God aright, and opening a road to the living God for the passage of His works and His word. The special significance of this new theology for missions is that their leaders should be led to examine themselves anew as to their preaching and service."

The basic presuppositions of the "theology of the Word" are: (1) "Mission is first and foremost an activity of God" standing in contrast with all of mankind's attempts to be re-united (re-ligo) with God since the Fall without acknowledging the Fall. (2) "The proclaiming must be done by members of the Church, the Christian community which has been created by His word." (3) "Missionary work is carried on with a view to the Kingdom of God" for it too is provisional ('Between the Times'), subject to the Judge's last word.

Certain points follow these premises: (1) "God desires to speak to the non-Christian through human messengers" but the latter are only "witnesses" who must continue to ask: Why we preach? How we preach? What we preach? and To whom do we preach? The "What" is none other than God's action in Christ. "To Whom" is never an audience in general but "Always ad hominem, to individual actual men".

"The Scriptures recognize only one man, who remains one and the same in spite of all differences of race, language, religion, and culture, and that is the Prodigal Son, bound in a world of stress and death, in bondage to the power of sin.... But this is not all: the message is not only proclaimed to the soul of men, but to the actual man standing before us at the moment, never again the same. Therefore the missionary has to

do all he can to understand the spiritual and religious world of this man confronting him. He must take him as he actually is. The missionary cannot study too closely the religions of the world in order to find that needy spot through which the word of God can find entrance into this man."

(2) Mission means an invasion of man's world by the Message which brings both judgment and redemption--shattering illusions and requiring a decision for or against God. (3) "This message goes to the religions of the earth" as a judgment of all religions. For "religion":

"...expresses on the one hand all the longing and the questioning which breaks from man's needy soul. Religion is the outstretched hand towards the One who alone can lead and uphold man. For the main thought underlying the word 'religion' is a man, a pious, seeking human being. ... who is seeking along a thousand paths to fulfill that which is lacking in his life, to satisfy the longing of his soul, to become united again with God --and all this by his own effort. The 'religious' man believes he is able to find God and stand before Him, without needing at every moment the revelation of God. 'Religion' therefore, will always be a main attempt to still longing, and is in itself the answer which a man conceives, experiences or achieves to his own questions. Therefore--and this is the third point--all religions efface the irreducible gulf between God and man. To speak rightly about God one must speak of His grace.

"Only God who gives truth and bestows life, can bridge the gulf and unite men again with Himself. But in all religions there always exists a belief in a postulated, ultimate, deep continuity between man and God.... Therefore, in the conception of 'religion' there lies an ultimate crossing of boundaries, which a man can accomplish by his own meditation, his own vision, his own activities, his own sacrifices.... The Message of Christ, therefore, spells sentence and judgment on all 'religions', first and last."

Hartenstein thus pointedly stresses the issue of "discontinuity" and the sui generis of the Christian Message which stands in sharp conflict with the position that "all religions are uni generis; at bottom there is only one religion and in that one all unite".

The aim of mission then must be not simply to divert men from one religion to another, but to bring man into a new relationship with God, into a new life and realm (the Kingdom) through Jesus Christ. While this involves personal decision and faith, it results in a communal relationship, the Church, a visible if temporal form of the Kingdom.

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Source: Located in I.R.M., 20 (1931), 210-217.



APPENDIX I: A GLIMPSE AT RE-THINKING MISSIONS: A LAYMAN'S INQUIRY (1932)

This independent commission was begun in 1930 by a group of self-appointed laymen and clergy from the Northern Baptist and six other American denominations in response to a changing world and a public critical, even questioning the validity of missions. First, a corp of research workers (reflecting the new science of surveys) was sent to India, Burma, China, Japan, etc. These "Fact Finders" then reported to the Commission of fifteen under Chairman Hocking. The final report was comprised of three parts. The first was an endorsement of the need of missions and a restatement of the theory of missions. While this reflected some of the Commission's discussions, it was largely the work of Hocking. His presuppositions became the real "bone" of contention. Very early, he admitted that the report would stand or fall on the theological premises of these chapters (cf. Proceedings, p. 8). The last two sections, reviewing the methods and administration of missions with recommendations, were more readily received. Convinced that the missionary program needed a drastic overhauling, Hocking set forth the theological-philosophical principles for a revised policy in the first four chapters. The foreward of the report had reflected the various opinions of the commission, but these chapters are dominated by Hocking's ideas. Chapter One declares that a complete reconstruction of mission is necessitated by three great "changes": the altered theological outlook (liberal-minded men have "progressed" to a point where they hold that "the function of religion is to bring men into the presence of the everlasting and the real," p. 18); the emergence of a world-culture; and the rise of nationalism in the East. Yet for Hocking "the fundamental motive, the imperative of sharing whatever certainties we have in the field of religion, remains" (p. 23). But the temporary functions of "planting the Church" and "making disciples" must gradually be displaced by foreign service and ambassadorship (i.e. education, medical work, etc.) for the upbuilding of society (humanity) in general.

Chapter Two on "Christianity, Other Religions and Non-Religion" reveals Hocking's feelings regarding the inevitable progress of human history and religion. The rise of materialism-secularism will likely realign all religions in an allied fraternity over against non-religion. Liberal-minded Christians reject the mistaken idea of making converts and see men of all religions as brothers in a common quest. This "creative relationship" emerging in missions will "make a positive effort first of all to know and understand the religions around it, then to recognize and associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in them" (p. 33). Hocking rejects the traditional concept of mission:

"The original objective of the mission might be stated as the conquest of the world by Christianity: it was a world benevolence conceived in terms of a world campaign. There was one way of salvation and one only, one name, one atonement: this plan with its particular historical center in the career of Jesus must become the point of regard for every human soul .... But particular facts cannot be proved: they must be recognized. Hence in respect to its central fact Christianity was necessarily dogmatic--it could only say Ecce Homo, Behold the Man; and it was committed to a certain intolerance, beneficent in purpose--in the interest of the soul it could allow no substitute for Christ. It came to proclaim truth, which is universal; but its truth was embodied in a particular person and work." (pp.15ff)

Hocking's idea of epistemology and the "growth" of man's religious knowledge/experience stood in opposition to the concept of a unique, particular "revelation". Knowledge of God was innate for Hocking and the task of mission is thus not to transmit a message or light but to elicit or liberate the Light 'which lightens every man'. Hocking ignored the Barth-Brunner re-emphasis upon the Fall and sinful man's inability to comprehend God. For him, there was a "Figure" behind all religions and religious language, a Christ who bears many names and guises (p. 44 and Proceedings, pp. 15ff). He sets aside the biblical concept of the "finality of God's revelation in Jesus Christ":

"Hence all fences and private properties in truth are futile: the final truth, whatever it may be, is the New Testament of every existing faith. ...The relation between religions must take increasingly the form of a common search for truth." (pp. 44, 47)

Under "Christianity: Its Message for the Orient" (chapter 3), Hocking points out that the uniqueness of Christianity consists only in its peculiar combination of doctrines and ethics for these truths are rooted in "nature... the human mind everywhere". While admitting there are sharply differing opinions as to "what is" or "who is" the Message and Person of Jesus Christ (pp. 49-59), he proceeds to extract from historical particulars, universal principles and morals. For him, the "Kingdom of God" is a new emerging world culture of many peoples sharing their varied quests and experiences of religious truth.

"The Scope of the Work of Missions" (chapter 4) is thus a broad humanitarianism--a philanthropic "new evangelism" of "living" and "human service" by which a "new social order" is to be ushered in. Yet this must be done without promoting the Church, i.e. by individual conversions and discipleship (pp. 60ff). The report concludes on this same note. Missions must fulfill the potentialities of humanity by drawing men everywhere "together in a full and ennobling experience of God" (pp. 323ff).

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APPENDIX J: HENDRIK KRAEMER AT TAMBARAM: THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

It was by no accident that Hendrik Kraemer prepared the volume, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World for the Madras Conference (1938). He had been a scholar of Oriental languages and religions at Leiden (1911-1921) before serving with the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Java (1921-1935). The work there, even among Muslims, had been most effective and young Kraemer gained distinction for his literature work and understanding of the indigenous church. By 1928, he was an active participant in the international missionary discussions. The debate as to a correct evangelistic approach to non-Christian religions only intensified following Jerusalem (1928). The chain of meetings at Herrnhut-Salisbury-Northfield-Basel heightened the tension. Under the influence of W.W. Cash, J.H. Oldham, J.R. Mott, and William Paton, the Ad Interim Committee of I.M.C. at Old Jordans, England (June, 1936) decided that Kraemer was the man to prepare the volume for Tambaram on the "evangelistic approach to adherents of different non-Christian faiths". Kraemer was urged to visit America and there he came into the midst of the crisis precipitated by Re-Thinking Missions. There he encountered the thought of Hocking who had overemphasized one aspect of Jerusalem (1928) and ignored the neo-evangelical developments in Europe, the new biblical studies in Britain, the emerging younger Churches, and the evangelical basis of the ecumenical movement. There also he found encouragement for his task from Speer, Zwemer, Latourette and others.

Preparing the Christian Message (Sept. 1936-end of 1937), Kraemer corresponded with missionaries around the world (e.g. Morrison, Padwick, Nielsen, A.G. Hogg); renewed contacts with Emil Brunner and Karl Heim; participated in conferences at Oxford and the Netherlands; and was appointed to the chair of comparative religions at Leiden (Dec. 3, 1937).

The Christian Message has become perhaps the most discussed missionary volume of the century. It placed the whole issue of mission directly back into the heart of theology. It shocked those side-tracked by anthropology, ideology, philosophy and philanthropy and reorientated the whole critical discussion to theology, biblical theology. It did for mission circles what Barth and Brunner were doing for continental theologians and philosophers. Evangelism could not be treated in isolation in this revolutionary era. It must be centered in theology:

"the problem of 'evangelistic approach to the great non-Christian religions' cannot remain confined to the field of the proclamation of the Word or the preaching of the Gospel to the fundamental and concrete realities of the different religious systems. The entire missionary enterprise in all its manifestations, activities and obligations has to envisage itself essentially as approach, as evangelistic approach, because all these manifestations can only legitimately be called Christian and missionary when they issue directly from the apostolic urgency of gladly witnessing to God and His saving and redeeming Power through Christ." (pp. vi.f)

To extract the essentials of Kraemer's comprehensive volume is no simple task. Only a few details can be mentioned here. Kraemer saw the various religions as "totalitarian entities" which could not be adequately described by comparative studies, phenomenological descriptions, or arrangement in an evolutionary order. They were separate human attempts at the "apprehension of totality of existence". They fail however to apprehend reality, for reality is theocentric and understood



only as "God reveals". The self-communication of God reveals man is in revolt, blinded to general revelation and often hardening himself against the revelation in Christ. Yet he has no grasp of God nor reality apart from the revelation in Christ. "Revelation in its proper sense is what is by its nature inaccessible and remains so, even when it is revealed" (p. 69). This Revelation or "Biblical realism" can never be reduced to a body or system of teachings. It remains centered in the Person of Jesus Christ, the Lord.

Kraemer has two objectives in his study of non-Christian religions: (1) to point out their totalitarian nature and (2) to evaluate their "apprehensions of reality" in "the light of Christ". Islam has a unique place amid the "prophetic religions of revelation" because it contains fragments of Judaism and Christianity. Most other primal and Asiatic religions are described as "naturalistic religions of trans-empirical realization" basing their totalitarian claims upon "naturalistic monistic thought-forms" (pp. 142ff). Islam is treated in three places in this volume. First, the Islamic system is described as "a great syncretistic body wherein are welded in one system theocratic and legalistic Islam, mysticism and various sorts of popular religions, in which the naturalistic vein of the primitive apprehension of existence shines through". Although Islam has a "background of empirical Christianity and Judaism" it is a distinct, theocentric religion binding man as a slave under the iron law of God and his Apostle. "Islam in its cradle was already a specimen of religious imperialism, which is another name for secularized theocracy" (pp. 215ff). After examining the present situation in Islam (pp. 268ff), he set forth his approach to Islam. He realizes that Islam is marked by a group solidarity that is hard to penetrate (p. 353) and has incorporated antagonism to Christianity into its creed, but this calls for an unusual degree of faith, love, hope and patience from the Church (pp. 354ff). He rejects many known approaches to Islam: namely, the via mysticism approach (pp. 357f); the comparative religions approach (p. 360); the presentation of Christian teachings about Jesus and the Holy Spirit as the enrichment of the half-truths of the Quran (pp. 355f); and the traditional nineteenth century presentation of Christianity as a set of doctrines (p. 356). For Kraemer, the best method is:

"direct personal contact and study of the Bible in a spirit of human sympathy and openness, the Moslem being treated not as a non-Christian but as a fellow-man with the same fundamental needs, aspirations, and frustrations, whose religious experience and insight are as worth while as the missionary's, simply because he is a living human being." (p. 356)

For Kraemer it is the "Word of God", Biblical realism, that has recruiting power (p. 345). The missionary is the only "point of contact" between the Word and the Muslim, therefore, he must have both "a direct and vital contact with Biblical realism and a real knowledge of the Moslem ways of thinking and living and of the religious vocabulary of Islam" (p. 357). Kraemer like Zwemer concentrates on evangelism. His key presuppositions concern: "Revelation in Christ", the role of other religions, plus his practical observation that the missionary is the "point of contact" (pp. 130-141). This approach places great strain on the agent:

"In the first place, there is the obligation to strive for the presentation of the Christian truth in terms and modes of expression that make its challenge intelligible and related to the peculiar quality of reality in which they live. For the missionary or evangelist this means a constant

process of self-denying training, for the love of Christ, and the love of souls, to find the ways in which to tune this presentation to the peculiar sound-waves of these peculiar human hearts.... The preaching of the Gospel in a foreign world with a different spiritual climate and background is a translation of meanings and not of detached words. Openness and truthfulness and not antagonism are the natural implications of this attitude, because to win men for Christ is the dominant inspiration in this activity.

"In the second place, it includes the presentation of the Christian truth against the background of the universal human problems of aspiration, frustration, misery and sin, because these men and women must be for us in the first place human-beings, fellow-men, and not non-Christians." (p.303)

These demands apply to the whole "missionary church". This "obedient society" receives life and fellowship only via God in Christ and is sent into the world for a threefold, inter-related task of "witness, worship and ministry" (pp.405ff). Kraemer perhaps because of his experiences in Indonesia, goes beyond many of his contemporaries in the problem of "adaptation" of elements of "indigenous" culture for the work and life of the young church. Kraemer did not forget to insert his criticism of the Laymen's report (and Hocking's ideas) with its "very weak sense of apostolic consciousness" (cf. pp. 36, 45, 49, 313, 321f.). The Christian Message is not as critical of other points of view, however, as Kraemer's work of 1956. Kraemer concludes on a note reflecting the Reformation:

"...The heartening lesson is that the Gospel can spread under any circumstances, provided a living and ardent faith burns in the hearts of men.

"The Christian mission in the non-Christian world must be accomplished in the present complicated world with all the means that human intelligence, ingenuity and devotion put at our disposal, because it is our plain duty to make the hearing and expression of God's revelation and Message as palpable as possible. Theology, history, psychology, anthropology must be exploited to achieve one aim and one aim only: to be a better instrument in conveying the conviction that God is speaking in Jesus Christ His decisive Word to individuals, nations, peoples, cultures and races, without any distinction. The undying fire, however, without which all our endeavours are nothing and all our missionary enthusiasm is powerless, is only kindled by the faith and prayer which are born from the vision of the triumphant Divine Love that burns in the heart of the Universe and which became incarnated in Jesus Christ, our Lord." (p. 445)

It is a matter of historical record that Hendrik Kraemer went forth from Madras to become one of the great strategists in mission, a widely read author, and a leader in the ecumenical movement.

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W.C.O. World Council of Churches

W.L. Die Welt des Islams

W.S.O.P. World Student-Christian Federation

Y.M.C.A. Young Men's Christian Association

Z.M.R. Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft

Z.N. Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft

Names of other journals, organizations, etc., are either shortened or given in

full.

# ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.C.F.M.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
A.J.S.L.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
A.M.Z.	Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
C.E.Z.M.S.	Church of England Zenana Mission Society
C.M.I.	Church Missionary Intelligencer
C.M.R.	Church Missionary Review
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
C.S.M.	Church of Scotland Mission
E.M.	Die evangelischen Missionen
E.M.M.	Evangelisches Missions-Magazin
E.M.M.S.	Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society
E.M.Z.	Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift
E.W.	The East and the West
I.C.	Islamic Culture
I.M.C.	International Missionary Council
I.Q.	Islamic Quarterly
I.R.M.	International Review of Missions
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.E.J.	Middle East Journal
M.R.W.	Missionary Review of the World
M.W.	Moslem World/Muslim World
O.B.	Occasional Bulletin (Missionary Research Library, N.Y.)
O.I.C.C.U.	Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
O.O.	Orient and Occident (Cairo)
S.C.M.	Student Christian Movement
S.I.	Studia Islamica
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
S.V.M.	Student Volunteer Missionary Movement (in Britain "Union")
S.W.	Student World
W.C.C.	World Council of Churches
W.I.	Die Welt des Islams
W.S.C.F.	World Student Christian Federation
Y.M.C.A.	Young Men's Christian Association
Z.M.R.	Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
Z.M.	Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft

Names of other journals, organizations, etc., are either shortened or given in full.



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